



The Historiographer

#113

of the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut

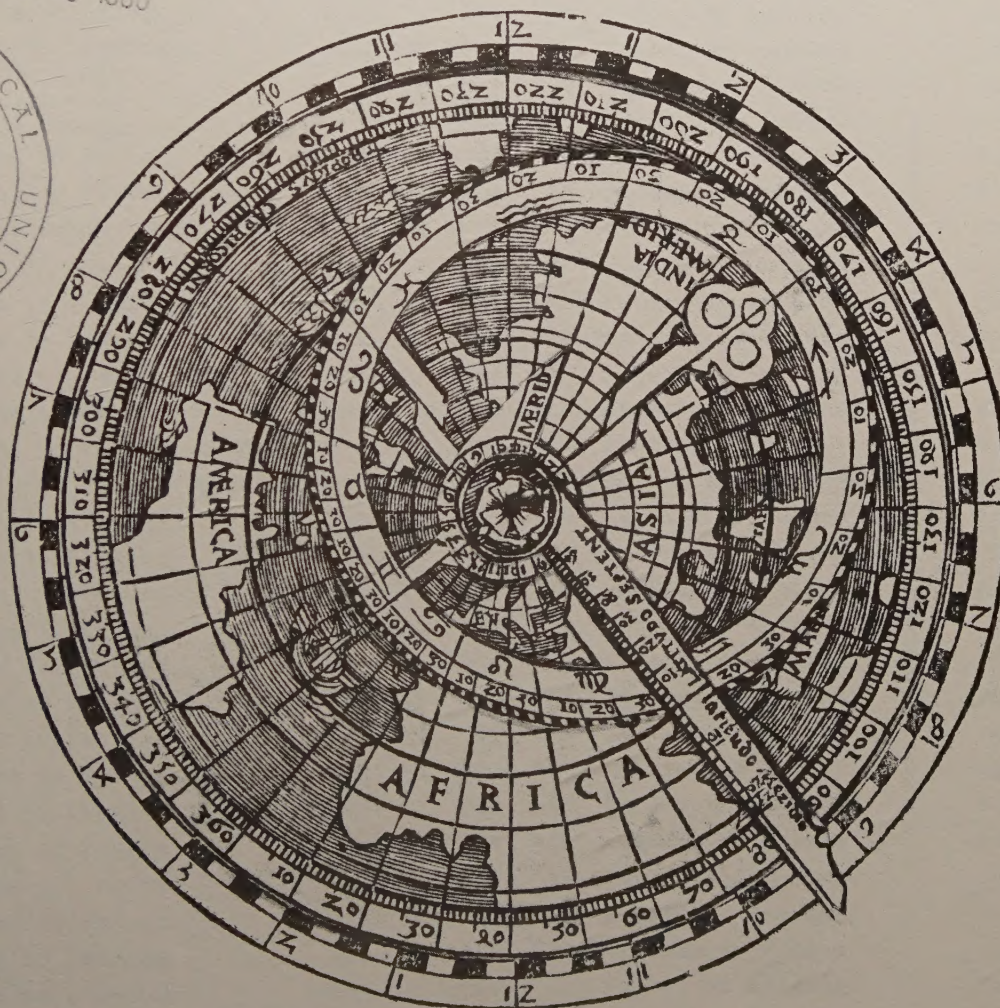
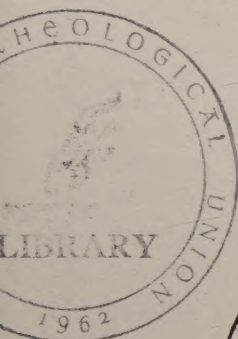
September
1980

ARCHIVIST & HISTORIOGRAPHER
EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF CONN.
BOX 1080, HARTFORD, CONN. 06101

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMUEL PETERS AND JEREMIAH
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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMUEL PETERS AND JEREMIAH LEAMING---A DIMENSION OF BP. SEABURY'S
EPISCOPATE

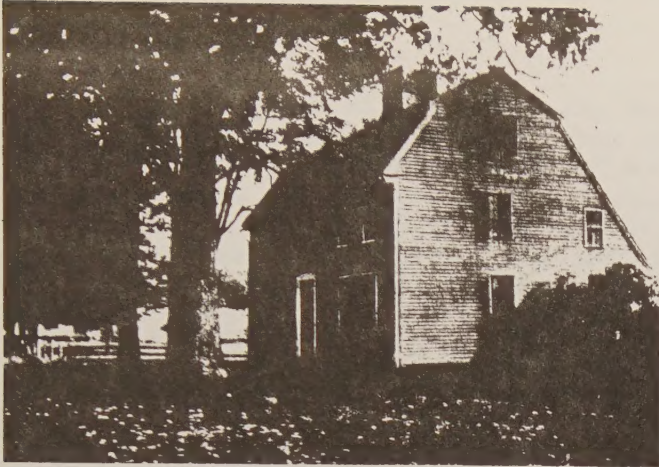
In The Papers of Loyalist Samuel Peters (1978) I analyzed the contents of the eight letter books surviving in the Church Archives in Texas, the circumstances under which they were compiled being questionable. Large blocks of Peters's original holdings reached depositories in Canada and were, therefore, not included in the letter books. Small blocks--notably the communications of Ebenezer Dibblee and Jeremiah Leaming--were unsatisfactorily transcribed and edited early in the present century notably in the early volumes of the Historical Magazine of the P. E. Church. Peters's important communications to these men have been lost or destroyed.

I have here gathered everything available of the Peters-Leaming correspondence, developed a chronology of extant and missing letters, reprinted the texts as originally edited with extensive corrections, added necessary annotations, and supplied a detailed index, which can be profitably used along with that in The Papers. (Most of the basic manuscripts are in the Archives of the Diocese of Connecticut.) No student of Seabury's episcopate can afford to ignore these materials.

CHART OF THE COMPLETE CORRESPONDENCE

1	Peters to Leaming	Oct. 3 1781	*31	Peters to Leaming	Nov. 6 1787
		+ Apr. 14 1782			
*2	Leaming to SPG $\frac{c}{o}$ Peters	Jan. 16 1782	*32	Leaming to Peters	Nov. 9 1787
*3	Leaming to Peters	May 6 1782	33	Peters to Leaming	Mar. 24 1788
4	Peters to Leaming	Aug. 15 1782	34	Peters to Leaming	Apr. 2 1788
*5	Leaming to Peters	Oct. 30 1782	*35	Leaming to Peters	June 25 1788
5A	Peters to Leaming	Jan. 1 1783			
6	Peters to Leaming	Aug. 11 1784	*36	Leaming to Peters	Aug. 29 1788
*7	Leaming to Peters	Nov. 8 1784	37	Peters to Leaming	Nov. ? 1788
*8	Leaming to Peters	Feb. 15 1785	38	Peters to Leaming	Nov. 17 1788
*9	Leaming to Seabury $\frac{c}{o}$ Peters	Feb. 15 1785	*39	Leaming to Peters	Mar. 17 1789
10	Peters to Leaming	Feb. 17 1785	40	Peters to Leaming	May 28 1789
11	Peters to Leaming	Mar. 5 1785	41	Peters to Leaming	Aug. 4 1789
12	Peters to Leaming	Apr. 23 1785	*42	Leaming to Peters	Nov. 2 1789
*13	Leaming to Peters	Aug. 12 1785	*43	Peters to Leaming	Mar. 14 1790
*14	Leaming to Peters	Sep. 27 1785	*44	Leaming to Peters	Aug. 6 1790
*15	Leaming to Peters letter	Nov. 22 1785	*45	Leaming to Peters	Oct. 29 1790
*16	Leaming to Peters enclosure	Nov. 22 1785	46	Peters to Leaming	Oct. 29 1790
17	Peters to Leaming	Feb. 10 1786	*47	Leaming to Peters	Nov. 17 1790
*18	Peters to Leaming	Feb. 20 1786	48	Peters to Leaming	Feb. 2 1791
*19	Leaming to Peters	June 1 1786	*49	Leaming to Peters	Apr. 18 1791
*20	Leaming to Peters	July 7 1786	50	Peters to Leaming	June 28 1791
21	Peters to Leaming	Aug. 19 1786	51	Peters to Leaming	Aug. 8 1791
22	Peters to Leaming	Sep. 19 1786	*52	Leaming to Peters	Nov. 21 1791
*23	Peters to Leaming	Oct. 24 1786	53	Peters to Leaming	Feb. 2 1792
*24	Leaming to Peters	Jan. 22 1787	*54	Leaming to Peters	June 5 1792
25	Peters to Leaming	Mar. 28 1787	55	Peters to Leaming	Aug. 25 1792
*26	Leaming to Peters	June 12 1787	*56	Leaming to Peters	Nov. 15 1792
*27	Leaming to Peters	June 19 1787	57	Peters to Leaming	July 30 1793
*28	Leaming to Peters	Sep. 10 1787	58	Peters to Leaming	Apr. 15 1794
29	Peters to Leaming	Oct. 6 1787	*59	Leaming to Peters	July 6 1794
30	Peters to Leaming	Oct. 12 1787	60	Peters to Leaming	Sep. 29 1794

Starred numbers represent surviving letters or fragments.



THE GLEBE HOUSE, WOODBURY, CONNECTICUT, IN WHICH WAS HELD IN
1783 THE SECRET MEETING OF CHURCH OF ENGLAND CLERGYMEN
(THE NAMES OF ALL THOSE PRESENT ARE NOT KNOWN EVEN TO THIS DAY)
WHO CHOSE THE REVEREND JEREMIAH LEAMING TO GO TO ENGLAND
FOR EPISCOPAL CONSECRATION, WITH THE REVEREND
SAMUEL SEABURY AS ALTERNATE.

[2]

New York Jan 16. 1782

This letter was enclosed
in [3] on the next page.

sir,

We the Subscribers have taken into Consideration the Circumstances of y^e Chh at Middletown in Connecticut w^h was formerly a Mission: and we wish the Society in their wisdom may think proper to revive it again; otherwise we fear the Chh in y^t part may suffer much. And we imagine y^e Society w^d be of our Opinion, if y^y knew of how much importance it is to Support y^e Chh in y^t large town; in y^e County of Hartford w^h contains upwards of fifty thousand Souls; there is only Hebron and Simsbury besides Middletown y^t have Ch^s. The good people of this Town have bought a house and Glebe, w^h cost £400 Sterling, and have contributed to the Support of the Rev^d Abraham Jarvis, for 16 Years past, as far as y^y c^d: but these distressing times render it more difficult than ever.

We verily believe y^e End and Design the Society have in View w^d be as fully answered in every particular, in reviving the Mission in this Town, as in any that are now under their Care.

And M^r Jarvis, for his prudent Conduct, his faithfulness in discharge of his Office, together with his firm attachment to the British Constitution in Chh and State, is deserving the favour we request for him

Jeremiah Leaming

To the Secretary of the Society
for the propagation of the Gospel
in foriegn parts—

I.e., supported by S.P.G.
funds.

The Episcopal Religious Society was not organized in the town of Hartford until Nov. 13, 1786. See the document on page 89 above.

For Leaming's affection for Middletown above all other places, see letter [52].

Leaming's second wife, Elizabeth Peck of New York, was the aunt of Hannah (Peck) Farmar, wife of Abraham Jarvis. Her large estate, in which Leaming had only a life interest, reverted to the Jarvis family.

Dr. William Morice

[3]

New York May 6. 1782

Rev^d and dear Sir
alias Peters

I rec^d your favour Dated Oct. 3. 1781—Ap 14. 1782 and I am set down to write you an answer. Some parts of your Letter I could not have answered, if I had rec^d it before; but am able now to give a full and Satisfactory account of the whole that you request. The Rev^d Mr John Marshal,¹ having come in here from Connecticut the day before I rec^d Your favour, by permission of your friend Trumbull, to take possession of a good Estate fallen to him by Death of a Relation. You are intirely mistaken, about B^r Marshals being a Candidate for the Gov^t—It was one Marshal a new Light, who preaches and prays, as they say; and was bold enough to tell the Almighty what he and all the powers above ought to do, at this alarming Crisis.

B^r Marshall, whose Loyalty you *seem* to doubt, is far from enough from a disloyal Spirit; so I hope you will not judge him with Severity. He saw your Son about one month Since, at Stratford, with his Gran father & Grandmother; all well. He says your Son is a fine promising Child, and loves the Clergy; and is like to make a much better man than his Father.

Your poor B^r Birdsey and his wife, both died on Long Island and have left only one Child, which is well and lives with y^e Grandfather.

Good old Mr Beach² is no more: Mr Diblee³ is very well all the rest of the Clergy in Connecticut, I hear, Yet live. Mr Bardsley has lately *lost* his third wife. The Mr Punder-son⁴ you mentioned returned here Safe; and now lives at the East End of Long Island with his Family.

The two Doc^r Clarks and their families are well; Mrs Leaming has been very ill, but has, to my great Satisfaction, wonderfully recovered.

I have sent you a paper inclosed to be given to the Society in favour of Mr. Jarvis.⁵ I have signed it, and wish Doc Chandler⁶ might sign it, and that you would do it also—Or if, he and You think some other mode may do better, I must request You will consult together, and draw it up and put my name with yours—If you think it may do any good service.

You are not uneasy I hope, that You was drove off this land; Since it has produced a History which will perpetuate Your Name.

There is a vast number of Dissenting ministers in Connecticut politically dead, and many really so—among which was Doc^r Wells, soon after he rec^d his Doctorate for abusing me.

I forwarded your Daughters Letter, to Mr. Birdsby by Mr Marshal— I am sincerely your aff. Friend

J. Leaming.

P. S. I am not sorry that I wrote the Defence of Episcopacy; altho it has been the cause of offending some who ought not to have been offended. The seeds of the Church in Con^t, that were planted, are now Springing up. You was drove off to make the Tryal but finding that your Treatment, was unpopular they desisted, accordingly you was the Scape Goat.

The Rev^d Mr Peters
at Bartlets Buildings
No 5
London

For SP's long correspondence with the Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, D.D., Connecticut historian and Congregationalist pastor of North Haven, 1760-1820, see Papers. He was born in Hebron on Dec. 19, 1735; A.B. and A.M. from Yale in 1759.

The politically involved clergyman was probably Joseph Marshall, born at Windsor, Conn., Feb. 17, 1731; ordained for the Separatist Church in Canterbury, 1759-1768; settled in North Canaan for sixteen years; then settled in Green River, N.Y., for ten. Died Feb. 20, 1813.

I.e., SP's brother-in-law, Capt. Everett Birdseye, a Loyalist, son of William B. of Stratford. See letters [8] and [49].

Possibly one of the Beardsleys of Stratford.

Reference to SP's anonymous General History of Connecticut, London, 1781.

The Rev. Noah Wells, D.D., born at Colchester, Jan. 25, 1718. A.B. and A.M. from Yale in 1741; S.T.D. from both Princeton and Yale in 1774. Served in Stamford, 1746-1776. Active in politics.

Leaming published A Defence of the Episcopal Government of the Church: containing Remarks on two late noted Sermons [by Chas. Chauncy and Noah Wells] on Presbyterian Ordination, N.Y., 1786.

¹Rev. John Rutgers Marshall was born in New York City and graduated from King's College. Ordained in London in 1771, he was appointed missionary at Woodbury, Conn. During the Revolution he suffered greatly at times, being forbidden to preach and on one occasion he was severely beaten. During his ministry he was a staunch defender of the Church and engaged in a pamphlet controversy with Noah Hobart. He died January 21, 1789.

²Rev. John Beach was born in 1700 and graduated from Yale in 1721. For several years he was minister of the Congregational Church at Newtown, Connecticut. Being "an ingenious and studious person, having had the advantage of better books", he was led to join the Church of England about 1732 and proceeded to England for Holy Orders and was ordained the same year. He was then appointed missionary of the S. P. G. at Newtown, where he labored without a break for fifty years. In 1750 he was invited to succeed the Rev. James Honyman as minister of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, but declined, fearing the people there "might complain that a worn-out man was imposed upon them". Though never free from pain, he missed only two Sundays in forty years. In addition, he officiated in towns "where the Common Prayer had never been heard, nor the Scriptures read in public". The Rev. Bela Hubbard wrote from New Haven, saying, "We have to lament the loss of the great and the good Mr. John Beach, who for half a century hath been a most worthy and dutiful Missionary from the Society, at Newtown and Reading, where he deceased on the 19th of March, 1782, in the eighty-second year of his age". (Cf. Sprague's *Annals*, Vol. V, pp. 82-85; Hawkins, *Missions of the Church of England*, pp. 201-215.)

³Rev. Ebenezer Diblee, rector of St. John's Church, Stamford, Ct.

⁴Dr. Cyrus Punderson (Yale), second son of Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, missionary of the S. P. G., was born at North Groton, Ct., April 17 1737. He entered the medical profession. He died in New York, January 10, 1789, and was buried at Setauket, Long Island. (Bolton, *History of the Church in Westchester County, New York*, p. 307.)
⁵Abraham Jarvis.
⁶Rev. Doctor Thomas B. Chandler.

[5]

New York Oct. 30, 1782

Dear sir,

The 29th Inst I rec^d Your fav^r of the 15 Aug^t with M^r Baxters Sermon. I wish it had appeared in the form of State pamphlet rather [than] a Sermon, as its maxims were all founded in State policy. As a Sermon, if he would not be tho't a Brimstone preacher, he should have put on a milder Aspect; that when a man Smighteth on one cheek, he may turn to him the other: while State policy dictates Retaliation, true Divinity requires forgiveness.

If Jarvis and Marshall can be provided for, it would be esteemed a favour. I hope You and D^r Chandler may be able to accomplish so desirable an Event--Especially when the Society take a Just View of the State of the Church in North America, they will find that the only hope of the future Support of the Church must be from Connecticut. The Good Seed sown there, by a united Clergy, is now Springing up; and will produce a plentiful Crop, if it is but properly watered. And I doubt not, but the Divine Spirit will accompany the well meant, and judicious Labours of the Clergy. Whether it is from the Conduct of the Civil Rulers, or that of the Clergy, or both together, the Church is in a prosperous way in Connecticut. The Clergy have Supported their Characters, as honest men, while the Dissenting Teachers, have lost theirs, and have been so devout in praying for their great and Good Ally; after frightening the people out of their Senses, because the Romish Religion, (as they said) was Established in Canady, that the populace now have no Confidence in them. The Church there must have a Bishop in some future day: when a Bishop in England will have so much of an Apostolic Spirit as to give an Apostle to Connecticut. If that Government could have a Bishop for themselves they will Support him; and they would find no difficulty in doing of it-- For the people of that Church believe Religion, and have shewn they believed it, by suffering for it, in these infatuated Times, and have Supported their Characters as honest men and good Christians, against those who forgot humanity, and every amiable Qualification.

You found fault that my last Letter was too short, I Suppose you will find fault with this as too long; unless I had said more to the purpose.

My best regards to your dear Girl-- Phebe Joins in love with Your Sincere friend

H. Grimael

[i.e., Jeremiah Leaming]

Receiv^d Dec^{ber} 17th 1782
 answered Jan^y 1- 1783

See the reference to Richard Baxter in [18].

Luke 6:29

i.e., with S.P.G. grants.

I.e., the Anglican Church in Canada.

Hannah Deloena (or Delavan) Peters, SP's daughter by his first wife. She later married Capt./Col. William Jarvis in London.

Phebe Peters was the daughter of SP's brother Joseph. She married George Gates. See letter [7].

[7]

Stratford Nov. 8, 1784~

Dear sir,

I suppose you know, I have consented to take the Care of this Church, which has been for many years, in a very broken, unsettled State. It was supposed, that it was necessary in order to collect this Church together, that an old man should undertake the Task. I am old enough, if that will do, and if I am not too old, I make no doubt, I shall accomplish it.

The Chh. at Norwalk, all wanted me to return there, but that Chh. is able to do without me. It would have been for my advantage to have gone there. But it was supposed that the general Good of the Chh. required me to take the Charge of this Chh.

I suppose you will take this, for a *New England Cant*: because you have lately lived, where the Enquiry is, Who will give the best Salary, not where can I do the most Good?

I understand it has been represented to the Society, that M^r. Kneeland, was an Enemy to the British Constitution. This is certainly a very *false report*. And I hope you will rectify the Error.

You must send over a power of Attorney, or come yourself immediately, or you will be in danger of *loosing* your fortune in this State, a word to the wise is Sufficient.

Joseph Peters, Daughter claims an £100 of your Estate; and says you had it, at your Brothers death; and she is about take your land and sell it, to pay the Debt. I am your sincere friend.

J Leaming.

Society

P.S. I wonder the ^ have not let me know, that *y^e approve* of my Endeavor to raise up Doc^r. Johnsons Chh—

We all join in Love to you and Hanah: M^r Birdsey is much better, with whom M^{rs} Leaming and I live at this time. Your Son is well and has rec^d your Letter, July 20.

rec^d Jan 25. 1785
answ^d Feb^y 1785

Leaming became rector of Christ Church, Stratford, on the preceding Easter, April 11, 1784.

The Rev. Ebenezer Kneeland, born in Middletown, Conn., was rector of Christ Church, Stratford, 1767-1777. He died there, April 17, 1777.

Phebe (Peters) Gates

[8]

Stratford Feb. 15. 1785~

Dear sir,

I now sit down to give you some Advice concerning your Son. There is no Latin School in this Town; and I wished to do something to help him in the Knowledge of the Latin Tongue. But I was disappointed in my View; he does not love his Book, and having no one with him to Stimulate his Ambition, from a disrelish to Learning, he soon contracted

is

an absolute hatred to it. There ^ no such thing, you know, as forcing a Child to learn. He is an Active, Sprightly Boy; and if he *was* placed among a Number of other Lads, his pride would lead him to be one of the foremost of them; and

him

his Abilities would Support ^ in the Attempt. In this View of the Affair I sent him back to his Grandfather who is excessively fond of him; and wishes to do every thing in his power to make a man of him: but the old Gentleman, for the troubles

rec^d April 23—
answ^d 23—

William Birdseye Peters ("Bird")
the son of SP's third wife,
Mary Birdseye.

William Birdseye, Esq.,
of Stratford

Capt. Everett Birdseye

he has had have made him *old indeed*. His Son went away after the Law was made, by which his whole Estate was confiscated. And this lay intermixed with his Fathers, in such the manner, that \wedge old Gentleman was ruined, unless he bought help

it. And doing this in his old Age, and no one to \wedge him, he is embarrassed to a great Degree. If he had been able, he would have sent your Son where he might had the best Advantage. It is not want of good will to the Lad, but for want of money. He has expected you would have given a power of Attorney to some one, and that some of the avails of your Estate would have been ordered by you for the Education of your Son. You must see and know, that all M^r Birdseys hopes are centered in those two grandchildren that are with Gentlemans

him. You hurt the old \wedge feelings very much, in your last Letter to him, in which you desired him to send you the your Son,

Account of what Expence he had been at, in bringing up \wedge and you would pay him. He says, he never gave you any Reason, by his Conduct to you, for you to treat him, in such a manner. And therefore was the more surprised to meet with it.

I have sent a Letter, to D^r Seabury addressed to your care, supposing that the D^r may have left England before the Letter may reach thether. If that should be the case, make the Letter your own property, my best regards to your dear Daughter—

adue, my heart—

J Leaming.

I.e., William Birdseye Peters
and the son of Everett Birdseye—Everett, Jr.

[9]

Stratford Feb. 15, 1785,

my dear sir:

been

The Letters you have sent have \wedge answered. But many of them were a long time before they came to hand. The Letter till

you wrote Aug^t 11th did not arrive at New York \wedge the 19^{y^e}

Jan^y this is \wedge last I rec^d altho I had rec^d two before of a later date. I have rec^d the Letter directed to M^r Jarvis and the committee, a few days before. That Letter is not answered. But if you have rec^d the Letters we wrote before, you have all that you wish to know—If you have not, you may be assured that the Clergy will gladly receive you, in this State, in case you bring Episcopal Authority, from a valid Line. For the Clergy here are resolute to Support the Church, at all Events. And they are upon so good Terms, with the other Denominations, that we have their good wishes that we may succeed. You will think this is strange, but the case is thus, Infidelity is coming in like a flood, and they own that the Chh. is a Bulwark against Infidelity: and say further, that they (the Clergy) of this State will choose a *man* for a Bp,

rec April 23—
answrd — 23^d
Ship Minton Cap^t
Nichols—

The Reverend Doc^r. Seabury
To the care of the
Rev^d M^r Peters }
Pemblico } London

he

that would be as agreeable to them, as [^]would be to the Chh. That they can confide in the Clergy that ^y will choose one that is Orthodox in his principles, and regular in his Conduct. This is what I have heard myself from some principal people. The truth is, they have laid down their Arms.

It is a very melancholy thing, to find that some Bps. have lost all their Influence, in matters of a religious Nature. But it will not be long, if this is the case, before they will find themselves in a worse Condition, than the despised Clergy of
may

Connecticut. If they lose their immense Riches, they be glad to fly to America: But after all the slights they have cast upon us here, we must be very humble indeed to receive them. If

not act

they believe that Episcopacy is necessary, they do [^] according to their faith —

to

If they have Conducted ^{ed} so wisely as [^] live in friendship and Amity with Each other, and have the love of the Clergy and Laity, of whom should they be afraid? If they have not, every Blast of popular Commotion must frighten them.

But enough of —————

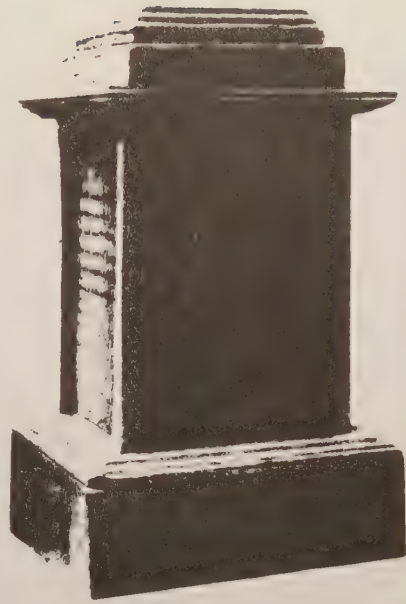
You must not come over without the Episcopal Character.
day

I have sent money to Miss Maria and I have this [^] ordered some more, and shall take care of her. I have been cut short in my income by a set of people who went into N. York after the peace; took possession of my houses, lived in them till the Rent amounted to more than £400—and went out without
they

a Copper: indeed nothing could be expected, for [^] went into the City without any thing. And the City was forced to support ^{them} with fuel and Bread; and my houses has a tax £100—to support those that lived in them without any Rent, so you see, what is in the world. One third must maintain all the rest —

adue—dearest heart—

J Leaming



Maria or Mary Seabury,
the Bishop's daughter,
born July 20, 1761.

MONUMENT ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF THE
REVEREND JEREMIAH LEAMING, D.D.
IN THE TRINITY CHURCH PLOT IN THE GROVE STREET CEMETERY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

[13]

Stratford Aug^t 12. 1785

N^o 1

my dear and beloved friend,

I have just rec^d your kind favour, by Dr Chan^r, and in May rec^d one dated March 5, which I have not answered, expecting Dr Seabury here every minute: yet did not arrive, till about the time Dr C^r came.

The reason you offer for sending Mr Birdeyes ^{act} are perfectly satisfactory. And Intend, they shall send it with this Letter, perhaps, it may not be too late.

The reasons you mention for taking away our Salaries is a paradox,^s in all shapes I can View it: our Names were never put to any papers, but to those directed to the Bishops in South Britain, and to them, none put their Names, but only

receivd Janu^{ry} 12 1786

Answ^d Feb. 10 —

myself: and Mr Jarvis,* as Secretary of the Convention of this State.

And the other Reason, (if it can be called so) offered for doing of it, as unaccountable. Did they, without our wish or desire make us nonjurors? and then take away our Salaries because we were nonjurors? Heaven defend us from such sort of Reason!

I do not know how it is; but great men can draw Conclusions, without any premises.

There is something so wicked, for them to entice the Clergy of this State, to leave their flocks, which have been taught by us, to believe, that the Society had nothing more at heart, than to support true Religion; without the least thot of acting by a party spirit in the affair.

However, I imput all this, to the Influence of some Crafty Dissenter, over the Society, in order, now we have a Bishop, to stop the rapid growth of the Church here. perhaps, you will not believe it; but the Church here is now the popular Religion of the State. Had our Salaries been continued Seven years longer, we should have been able to carry a sufficient sway to support the Church. A Bp, is no objection here. And the Dissenters applaud the zeal of the Church in their perseverance to obtain one.

I see, in Humphreys¹⁰ history of the Society that A. Bp Tenison gave £1 000—in Trust to Society, towards the maintenance of the first Bp that should be settled in America. He has been dead about 80 year I wish you could procure a Copy of that Will, and see, if Humphreys told us right. I once saw the Will of Lady Betty Hastings, in which she gave to the Society, £1 500 in trust for the support of a Bp or Bps in America—about 40 year since that will took place. there is Copy of that will at Newport, which I will procure.

I think there is no Judge dare Give Judgement again the plain Sense and letter of the Donor, and you will see how A. Bp Tenison has expressed it. If it is expressed as clearly as it is said, I think there can be no doubt of obtaining it; which would be a great help, to us, in our present Situation.

many Others have given considerable sums for the support of Bps in America; But if A. Bp Tenison has confined his Donation to the First Bp in America; It is located, and cannot be altered by any, that pretend to the least shadow of Justice.

There are many Glebes in this State given in Trust to the Society; it becomes necessary now they have cast us off, that they should transmit Deeds of those Glebes to the particular Churches who purchased them. This we shall apply for to the Society, and expect it to be done.

The Sermon preached on the day Dr Seabury was recognized as our Bp; to which is added the Solemnity of the Trans-action, together with the Bps Charge to his Clergy; is now gone to the press; and you shall have a Copy, when it comes out. God support you in all your trouble. thus prays your affec.

J Leaming

then to have done without them. And now, I am persuaded, we shall be able

See letter [54].

Thomas Tenison (1636-1715)

See next page.

*Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

*The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts cancelled the salaries hitherto paid to the clergy of Connecticut.

*Rev. Abraham Jarvis, afterwards second Bishop of Connecticut.

¹⁰An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Containing their Foundation, Proceedings, and the Success of their Missionaries in the British Colonies, to the Year 1728. By David Humphreys, D. D., Secretary to the Honourable Society. London. Printed by Joseph Downing, in Bartholomew-Close, near West-Smithfield, MDCCXXX.



THE

ADDRESS OF THE

Episcopal Clergy of Connecticut,

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

BISHOP SEABURY,

WITH THE

BISHOP'S ANSWER.

AND, A

SERMON,

Before the Convention at Middletown,

August 3d, 1785.

By the Reverend JEREMIAH LEAMING, A.M.

Rector of Christ's Church, Stratford.

ALSO,

Bishop SEABURY'S first CHARGE, to the
CLERGY of his DIOCESS,

Delivered at Middletown, August 4th, 1785.

With a LIST of the Succession of SCOT'S
BISHOPS, from the Revolution in 1688, to
the present Time.

NEW-HAVEN:

Printed by THOMAS and SAMUEL GREEN.

A

SERMON,

Preached before the

Convention of the CLERGY,

OF THE

Episcopal CHURCH in Connecticut,

At MIDDLETOWN, August 3d, 1785;

The Day on which they recognised
Bishop SEABURY.

By THE REVEREND

JEREMIAH LEAMING, A.M.

Rector of Christ's Church, in Stratford.

NEW-HAVEN:

Printed by THOMAS and SAMUEL GREEN.

[14]

Stratford Sep^r 27.
1785.N^o 2.

my very dear friend,

notwithstanding the hard things you have said of me Governor Trumble is now dead And we've a Bishop at our head.

According to my promise, I have enclosed the Sermon I told you in the N^o 1, was gone to y^e press.

I beg you will procure a knowledge of Bp Tenisons Donation to the first Bp residing in America.

I will send you M^r Birdseyes acc^t soon: but much Business has prevented me doing of it now.

J Leaming

Jonathan Trumbull, the first Governor of Connecticut to bear that name, was born on Oct. 10, 1710, and died on Aug. 17, 1785.

[SP has written on the reverse:]

Severight v^s nonjurors about 1759—

[15]

Stratford Nov 22. 1785—

my dear sir,

I know you think I am a mean contemptable wretch; and yet I know you love me, because you believe I will hold to the Truth. There is one thing in which you wrong me; *That I want to exalt myself above my Brethren.* For if I know my own heart, y^t is not y^e case.

There is a paper enclosed in this, I wish was published in y^e Newspaper by way of Letter, that y^e Bps might see it; and by y^t means see themselves.

We should have done as we please here, if the Bps would have favoured our Righteous Cause. We are the true Sons of the Chh; and if they are so, why did they neglect us?

The lay Deputies to the Southward will make wicked work with a Bp, if they get one. and the world will condemn the Bps of England, if y^v give y^m one. and will say it was done out of revenge to us. The only way they have to save their Characters *now*, is to patronize us, and do every thing for us in thier power. I really pittty them, that they have been so ignorant of the true Character of the Chh in this State. the only one on which they could rely with Confidence. If they had known the purity of our Intentions, they would have granted whatever we asked. If the proceedings at Philadelphia¹² are printed before this *Vessel* sails by which this Letter is to go, I will send them.

Your son is to go to M^r Mansfields tomorrow. tho your old father will be hard put it to pay for it—

with Comp^{ts} to your Daughter

I am always yours

J Leaming—

The Reverend M^r Peters
Pimlico
London

rec^d 17 Feb 1786
Answ^d 20 Feb

¹²The first General Convention, which met at Philadelphia from September 27th to October 7th, 1785.

[16]

[An enclosure for the British press]

There has been a Convention of the Clergy and lay Deputies of all the States South of Connecticut, held at Philadelphia; who have cast away two of the Creeds, and altered the other. They have altered the Baptismal Office, and layed aside the use of the Cross after Baptism, have altered the marriage and Burial Offices. And have altered the Common prayer to make it shorter. And say the Bps of England have engaged to consecrate a Bp for them, who are no longer of the communion of that Church.

Is it possible that the Bps of England should do this? when they lately refused to Consecrate a Bp for the Church in Connecticut, who hold firm to the faith once delivered to the Saints: and have retained the ancient form worship; and are truly formed upon the primitive plan of the christian Chh. The Clergy are determined to go thro any difficulties rather than to depart from the foundation of an apostolical Chh. The Bps of England, must certainly feel uneasy that they have not taken us by the hand, when they find we are the only Chh in all the States, that have acted in such a manner as the world must approve of. No Temporal Interest shall cause us to depart from the Truth, for we believe in that God, who giveth Light in Times of Darkness.

[A few questions directed to Samuel Peters:]

If there is anything in Religion why are we not more engaged about it: If there is nothing in it, why should we give ourselves any concern about it? one question more I would ask, and I have done. Can the Bps of England send Bps to these States, to be under the Government of Lay Elders?

[18]

[A]

R^d Baxters mode of altering the English Prayer Book excelled yours—viz—burn it and make a new one. You have spoiled the Matrimonial Service by leaving out, With my Body I thee will worship.

See page 97.

1786—

[B]

Answer—The English Bps hold themselves not akin to the American Bps—and made them in Spite to Dr Seabury a nonjuring Bp—from Scotland—for which I was censured by the Archbp Moore—Piety & Morality have no Friends in England—Ecclesiastical Orthodoxy is changed into Civil—nonjurors are cursed: for being nigher to the Catholics of Rome than King Henry 8th, or Protestant Chh of England.

The Act of Parliament in 1786 enabled George III. to authorize the Archbp to make a College of Bps for the 13 States of America—because George had no divine Power from Hen 8th nor Queen Eliz—The Parliament is now head of the Chh of England, & of the Bps of America—

The Head of the Chh of England died with Queen Ann—& commenced with the Parliament on Coronation of George 1st—1715. Primitive Rules & Doctrines are obsoleted in 1715—Civil Law is our orthodoxy—*La Fig for* Repentance & primitive Faith & Brotherly Love—

Happy are those who can live on Christ's Laws—

adieu—

S. P—

1786

[C]

Answer— The Bishops of England were made so in 1535 by Hen. 8th after he & all Protestants both Clergy & Layity were Excommunicated by the Pope—: and Lord Thomas Cromwell consecrated Cranmer & all Protestant Bps & Clergy until 1546. And Cromwell give them divine Power by Authority of King Henry 8th who Sat in the Seat of Moses and S. Peter—hence the King became head of the Chh of England, not of Christ's Chh—English Bishops are Royal— American Bishops are Parliamentary— Both want the Apostolical Authority— Lord Bps hate American Bps— S. P—

Peters inscribed [A] and [B] on the bottom of Leaming's letter of Nov. 22, 1786. He wrote [C] in reply to the special questions Leaming asked him on the enclosure in that letter. All three notes he probably incorporated in his letter to Leaming of Feb. 20, 1786.

[19] Stratford June 1. 1786

my very dear friend,

Yesterday I rec^d your fav^{rs} of the 10, and 20th of Febu^y. And write immediately; to convince you, I am determin^{ed} to keep up a correspondence with you. You say you are sorry I have been deceived, and so am I. From this it appears, we are a couple of Sorry fellows. Yet I do not think you a mean contemptible wretch, or that you desire to exalt yourself above your Brethren; and hope you do not harbor a thot, that I would do it.

You ask why I was not Bp, of Cont? I was Bp Elect; by the Vote of the Clergy here; but fearing the Chh might suffer under my poor Abilities, caused me, to answer, *Nolo Episcopari*;

Had I known, that D^r S. had so many personal Enemies, I should not have given the answer I did. This is under the rose; and you force me to say that, which I wish not to be repeated.

You observe; that in the Sermon preached at Middletown, I have omitted to use, my former polished Style. And that the Criticks on your side of the water, will deny that the universal peace in the world, at our Saviours birth was to prepare the world to receive the King of peace.

Perhaps they deny that there has been a Saviour of Mankind, and deny the Lord that hath redeemed them. As to polish Style I never had it.

How could you say, we made ourselves nonjurors? Did not the Royal Voice declare, that he would lose the Tower of London, before he would desert his friends in America? And yet when the peace was made, they were not thot worthy of any notice.

You will say, we should have gone to N^o S.¹⁴ and then we should have partook of the fav^r of Gov^t. I always have made it a Rule when a man once deceives me, never to trust him again. The thousands that we have been laboring for thirty years, if we went to N. S. or Siberia, must be left destitute of Clergymen, and lose all Religion: for it was impossible for them to go. You say we pretended to be friends to the british Gov^t; but have deserted; and joined with those that revolted. We were firm, till the pow^{ers} y^t should have viewed as friends, refused to own us; and gave away our Estates, to those, who had made us suffer so much; in order to convince us, that they loved thier Enemies and hated their friends. There were more firm friends to the British Gov^t, here, than in the same number, of Churchmen, in any part of the Dominions of G B, till we saw that they designed to Sacrifice us to a Set of men, who are to make their fortunes from the Labor of the poor Refugees. An American is not viewed by that sort of men, an Inch better than one of the bruit Creation. This is said, and it is known to be true, by Your old friend

J L ——— g

rec^d July 29th
Ans. 19 SeptThe Reverend
M^r Samuel Peters
Pimlico
LondonTo be forwarded
by M^r Ellison

Thomas Ellison of N.Y.

Samuel Seabury

More about critics on p. 126.

CHRIST CHURCH, STRATFORD.
Second Building, 1744.¹³Bishop Seabury.¹⁴The S. P. G. offered to provide support for the Connecticut missionaries if they would remove to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick.

[20] Stratford July 7. 1786

my very dear sir,

I have wrote a Letter the moment I rec^d your last fav^r, to inform you I had rec^d it: but had not time to acquaint you that you are mistaken concerning the Clergy; that Several of them had embraced Tylers¹⁵ principles. How came you by that Intelligence? I am sorry you gave such a Character of us to the world. Who told you that we were thus unstable in our principles? Was it Tyler? he is a **liar** from the **B**eginning.

There is another falshood published in the London paper concerning us, viz that the new England States, had formed a prayer Book for themselves, leaving out two of the Creeds, and altering the other &c &c— This is, with regard to the clergy of this Dio—, as false as him that wrote it. This was done by a set of men in Boston, that have taken possession of the once Kings Chappel,¹⁶ and have formed a prayer Book in which have intirely cast **every thing away** that Can be called Christian, so that a Jew, a Heathen, or a Turk may be as well pleased as any one, that would pawn themselves upon the world for Christians.

We are the same in principles and practice that we were when you was here. And am persuaded that in the End it Will turn out, Let them call us Jacobites, or what they please,

that there is no other State in the 13, That will retain, even the faith once delivered to the Saints. For I hear, that the English Bps, have concluded to consecrate Bps for the Southern States, provided they (the Southern people) will retain in their prayer Book the two Creeds they had cast away, and restore these words in the Apostles Creed, He descended into Hell. It is supposd there will be no difficulty in having these Creeds, inserted in their prayer Book, as they intend to leave it *optional* in the Clergy to use them, or not.

And it is easy to conceive what will be the conduct of those men who cast away the Creeds, at first, when it is left to their own will to use them or not.

I have no Doubt, that the English Bps, when they view our conduct, when we applyed to them, for a Bp, that ^{y^y} will allow we were honest, and delt fairly, and that there was no duplicity in transacting our Business with them. We were engaged to have a Bp; we requested them to send us one; and when we made the application we had no doubt of succeeding; supposing there could be no objection from any Quarter. But we were Ignorant that two presbyterian ministers governed Billy Whigg¹⁷

In the Letter to Tyler, immediately after your name, Samuel Peters A. M.—(this sentence is inserted) It had been good for that **man** (Sam^l Peters) if he had not been born.

M^{rs} Leaming is still much out of Health and your father Birdsey desires me to mention his kind regards to you—I hear your daughter is married, but you have never said any thing to me about it; I hope you have not got a fit of the grim pouts concerning it.

I have not seen the Gentlemans Magz for Jan Feb or **mark**; as y^y are not to be had here at present. As soon as I see y^m, if they are saucy shall be at y^m for I suppose I can vindicate what I have published.

Let me hear from you often, a Letter from **You** revives me; tho it fetches blood every stroke, and I cannot live comfortably without a Correspondence with you. for I want to hear what is doing in the world; pray is D Inglis to be Bp in N Scotia? and have or get the plum from D^r C.

poor man his heart will break with disappoint^t

Reverend Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

To the Care of }
M^r Rivington. }

? James Rivington, son
of John.

rec^d Octo. 9—
Answ 24—

One of these was certainly Richard Price (1723-1791), a nonconformist clergyman and writer on morals, politics and economics. He wrote much on the subject of the Revolutionary war. He was a friend of Benjamin Franklin and was invited by the American Congress to come to the United States to offer advice on sundry matters.

See the title on the next page.

See letter [5] for Hannah Peters, who married Col. William Jarvis early in 1786.

Thomas Bradbury Chandler

¹⁵The reference appears to be to the Rev. John Tyler, for more than fifty years rector of Norwich, Ct. He was born at Wallingford and graduated from Yale in 1765. In 1768 he was ordained in London and appointed S. P. G. missionary at Norwich. He was suspected of universalist principles. There are indications that he was at variance with the Convention of the diocese and absented himself from the meetings at least for one period of about ten years. Under date of August 25, 1786, Bishop Seabury wrote him saying, "your conduct, more particularly of late, has given great offence to several of the Clergy of the State, and that they greatly desire an interview with you, that they may know in what light they are to consider you for the future". Tyler was requested to attend the Convocation at Derby "to see whether mutual explanations may not remove that offence which your proceedings at Wallingford and Norwich have, we conceive, justly given to them and myself". Not being able to attend the Convocation, Rev. Abraham Jarvis and Rev. Bela Hubbard, together with the Bishop, were deputed to "try whether by conference they could prevail with you to put matters on such a footing as that they might still keep up their connection with you". (Cf. W. J. Seabury, *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, p. 382f.) The result of the conference, if held, is not recorded. It is known, however, that Tyler officiated at the funeral of Bishop Seabury, and that he himself died on January 20, 1823, in his eighty-first year.

¹⁶On the 19th of June, 1785, the proprietors of King's Chapel, Boston, the Rev. James Freeman, minister, approved radical alterations of the Book of Common Prayer. The alterations "were principally those of Dr. Samuel Clark, the celebrated English divine, and for the most part were such as involved the omission of the doctrine of the Trinity". Mr. Freeman had become a Unitarian. (Greenwood, *History of King's Chapel in Boston*, p. 138-9. Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co. 1833.)

¹⁷William Pitt.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author of the following Letter, having heard that several of the Episcopal Clergy in Connecticut, his much-esteemed friends and fellow-labourers in the Lord, had joined in opinion with Mr. TYLER, for whose private use these Observations were primarily intended, was induced to have them printed, that each of his Brethren might have a copy at the cheapest rate, and a further evidence of his wishes for their spiritual and temporal good,

A
L E T T E R
TO THE
Rev. JOHN TYLER, A. M.

CONCERNING THE

Possibility of Eternal Punishments,

AND THE

Improbability of Universal Salvation.

By the Rev. SAMUEL PETERS, A. M.

"It had been good for that man, if he had not been born."
ST. MATT. XXVI. 24.

"It would be good for that man to be born, who, after
"suffering the pains and miseries of hell ten myriads of
"years, should be admitted to everlasting happiness in
"heaven, where an eternal happiness will exceed all finite
"torments."
HUGH PETERS.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

MDCCLXXXV.

A
L E T T E R, &c.

Pimlico, August 20, 1785.

REVEREND SIR,

YOUR letter, dated Norwich, in Connecticut, April 2, 1785, reached me on the 7th of July; and I rejoice to find that liberality and charity still mark your character. In great weakness I have drawn up my objections against the most powerful arguments used by Origen and his disciples to support universal salvation. I think "the traditions which we have been taught by the word," and the universal church, better guides than the opinions of all novelists and sectaries whatever.

Your opinion, founded on such texts as prove universal redemption, may be the words "of wisdom among them that are perfect;" but to me it does not appear right reason to say, that as Christ has redeemed all mankind; therefore all men and devils shall be saved. The first saying is true, but the last may be false; and as it is one of the deep things of God not known to any man, silence and private hopes will best prove our wisdom, and love to God and our fellow-creatures.

Those texts commonly cited to support absolute election and reprobation have been used in no better sense. The inferences drawn are, God, being a sovereign of infinite power, justice, and love, has a right to give the elect, "in this world," effectual grace to save them contrary to their works and inclinations; and, "in the

B

world

[23]

N B— I talked with the Archbp on your Letter & Mr Dib-
blee's &c &c—he said what is the Episcopal Chh in America
to us? Billy Whigg said, all we want of America is their
Trade—to gain it, we may & shall follow the Rule of Charles
2^d (i e) buy our Enemies—& neglect our former Friends—
now become weak—our old Friends may move into our Colo-
nies, or be Governed by their & our Enemies—as to what Re-
ligion may reign in the 13 States it concerns not great Britain
—we want their Trade—and we will gain it— The Archbp
said Mr. Freeman¹⁸ Mr. Tyler, Dr Mayhew¹⁹ & all the Puri-
tans of America are alike indifferent to us of the Chh of Eng-
land they then laughed at the Word *Religion* & said no mat-
ter to us are their Creeds, *Many or few*—

Behold what Deception have we been led into?

Piety & Morality henceforth is my Religion— I hate all
other Religions—*adieu*—

S. P.—

Dr Seabury by turning to the Scottish Jacobite Bps—
damned Dr Chandler, Vardill, Cooper,²⁰ Caner²¹ & all the
Loyal Clergy in New England—& makes Room for your be-
loved Inglis,²² Moore,²³ Provoost,²⁴ White,²⁵ Madison²⁶—thus
gratified the Archbp & Mr Pitt & ruined you all & us here
—Ah! a fig for Apostolic & primitive Systems—Seeing the
System of Henry 8th & Queen Eliz contain better Policy—
for all—but Papists & the honest fools. — *Verax*—

For Ebenezer Dibblee's let-
ters to Peters, see Papers.

William Pitt

The Rev. John Vardill, a Loy-
alist then in England, had
taught Ebenezer Dibblee and
Bela Hubbard at King's
College in New York.

Dr Seabury has

The above notes Peters inscribed on
the back of Leaming's letter of July
7, 1786. These were probably included
in his reply to Leaming under date of
October 24, 1786.

¹⁸Rev. James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel, Boston.

¹⁹Jonathan Mayhew, born in 1720, was the son of the Rev. Ex-
perience Mayhew, missionary to the Indians at Martha's Vineyard,
Mass. He graduated from Harvard and in 1747 settled as minister of
the West Church, Boston. In 1751 Aberdeen University conferred
upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Dr. Mayhew engaged in
a pamphlet controversy with the Reverend East Apthorp, Episcopal
minister at Cambridge, Mass., relating to the policy of the Society
for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the proposal
to send Bishops to the American Colonies. Mayhew wrote "*Observa-
tions on the Charter and Conduct of the S. P. G. with Remarks on
the Mistakes of Mr. Apthorp*", and later followed with "*A Defence of
His Observations*". The second pamphlet was answered anonymously
by an English writer believed to be Secker, Archbishop of Canter-
bury. Cf. *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan May-
hew, D. D., Pastor of the West Church and Society in Boston*, by Alden
Bradford, LL. D. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 1838.

²⁰Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, formerly president of King's College,
New York. A refugee in England.

²¹Rev. Henry Caner, former minister of King's Chapel, Boston.

²²Rev. Chas. Inglis, sometime loyalist rector of Trinity Church,
New York, and later Bishop of Nova Scotia.

²³Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore, one time rector of Trinity Church,
New York, later Bishop of New York. Loyalist.

²⁴Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost, rector Trinity Church, New York,
and first Bishop of New York.

²⁵Rev. Dr. William White, consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania in
1787.

²⁶Rev. Dr. James Madison, President of William and Mary College,
Williamsburgh, Va., and first Bishop of Virginia.

[24]

Stratford Jan^y 22. 87—

my dear sir,

Your favour of Oct 24. 86, I have rec^d the 19 Ins^t for
which You have my hearty Thanks. You not only find fault
with my Conduct, but say the English Bps Condemn me:
and say, it was not in the power of the King, to absolve the
Clergy of this State, from their obligation to their quondam

The Reverend Mr Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

to the care of m^r
Ravington
St Pauls Churchyard

Bp—Be it so. It was not y^e King, but the Parliament, and the English Bps included in it, that made America independent. All the Bps voted for it; and not one of them said a word in favour of the Loyalist; that they ought to be considered who had Suffered so much for their attachment to the Constitution of Great Britain, in Chh and State. This was a Subject that ought to engaged the Attention of Somebody. For *tho* there was provision made for those that went to Nov Scotia; all those, whose Circumstances were such, that they could not remove *thether*, were entirely neglected in making the peace. So glaring was this neglect, of the friends of Gov^t, that Fox, in y^e opposite Scale, insisted that Gov^t had engaged to support them, and it would be the *basest* Conduct, to neglect them.

I suppose the Bps, may recollect, that the Parliament made America Independent; and that the parliament absolved the Clergy of England from their oath to their quondam Bps in the time of King W^m 3^d. If the Act of Par^t was valid in one case, it will be nice point to prove it is not so, in the Other. I must repeat it again, *I am of y^e Same principles as when You left me.* And you may say what you please about me; it will not effect me, unless you can say, I have departed from y^e faith of the early X^{ns}.

You, and the English Bps, have not understood, in what manner things have been carried on in England by Presbyterian Machination. I was sent by the Clergy of this State to inform the Assembly and obtain their approbation of our having a Bp; I soon found your [↑] were alarmed; but was obliged to be very complaisant to me; for once I was popular; and *every* thing carried in the Assembly according to my wishes. *Jonⁿ and Ezra* appeared very uneasy about a weeks time: then brightened up, and said, *tho* y^e assembly would admitt we should have a Bp, yet the English Bps would not consecrate one for us—and then it would be discovered that *tho* the Assembly would allow that we should have a Bp, yet we should be disappointed, and we should see, that our Interest with the Chh of England, was very Small.

However, I had no doubt in my own mind but that we should have some favour, and the Civil powers would suspend the penalties the Bps were liable to for consecrating a Bp for the people here, in order Still to preserve our Affection to them, for whom they knew, we had Sacrificed our Happiness and Estates. But in this, I was mistaken; for *Jonⁿ* and *Ezra*,¹ wrote to D^r Price, and desired him, to engage Billy Whig, to oppose every movement for our having our Pitition granted—Upon this the half loaf was given, which you mentioned. You were Governed at home by presbyterian Interest: by the Machinations of Jon² and Ezra.³ Jonⁿ is not; Ezra is not dead; The Daughter of Cheesbrook of Newport, an only child, married to one Grant, he carried her to England, and is dead; she came to newport this Autumn to dispose of her fortune and return to England. She had it in Charge from D^r Price, to visit Ezra, and *settle* the affairs of y^e nation, when she returns to England. So that you see how matters are—I have wrote a long Epistle.

But I have not done yet; when price⁴ found, that S⁵ was consecrated in Scotland; he then engaged Billy Whig to send his mandate to the second man in the Kingdom, and ordered him to dismiss all y^e Missionaries in these States; and give large Saleries to the Clergy that would go to Nova Scotia—and by that means put End to the Chh here, which was y^e view of Ezra—

Now upon this View of the Subject, what was to become of 20,000 Chhmen in Connecticut, which could not move to N

rec^d Novemb 3^d
Answ. — 6
with four Pamphlets.

Charles James Fox (1749-1806).
Whig opposer to Lord North's
coercive policies against the
American Colonies.

Jon Trum¹, and Ezra

Gov. Jonathan Trumbull
Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles

The second man in the Kingdom
was probably Abp. John Moore.

Dr. Richard Price (1723-1791)

Governor Trumbull died on
August 17, 1785.

David Chesebrough of Newport, R.I.,
a communicant of Trinity Church
there, married Abigail Rogers on
June 12, 1729. (She died in New-
port in 1737, leaving a daughter
Abigail, who married Alexander
Grant, oldest son of Sir Alexander
Grant, of Scotland, possibly a
staunch Presbyterian. David
eventually moved to Stonington,
Conn., dying there in March, 1782.

Scotia, if all our Clergy had left their people? why! they must have done, as Ezra wished, *joined y^e meeting*. And in that case, what have y^e Society been doing for 70 Years? then price says, what shall I do now? I am resolved what to do. Let there be an act to Suspend y^e penalties &^d for if this is not done, S. may ordain, and y^e Chh there may be still preserved. make a huge Cry against a Jacobite Bp, and ordain Bps for the Southern States, in opposition to S. and by that means y^e Chh will be devided, and consequently come to an End. This will gratify Ezra, and compleat all his wishes.

You charge me with being a Jacobite: I deny y^e charge; I have the same good wishes for the present Family on the throne that I ever had. And what those were I need not say now. And I am as ready to communicate with y^e Chh Eng^d as ever, and of course no Schismatic.

Ing^{as} was provoked that S. was nominated for Bp, so that he has no hand in that matter. If Ing^{as} has a mind to ride on Dr^r Chhose, let C-be carried to Eng^d; we don't want either of them here, as to Duchee^r he will not be here. And as to Combes let him Stay in Fance and get his hair dressed.

Dr C's hopes are not ^{at} an End; tho I think he is not far from it. Has Dr^r I [^]no chance for a Mitre? that will put an End to him too; for tis reported here, that his hopes are gratified.

And as to Jonⁿ, let him be where he will, I hope he will never come here again. For we have no want of him, for his friends wished him gone that they might have his post.

I was not, as you insinuate, angry at your Letter to Tyler; I liked it well, and thank you for doing the Business so well to the purpose.

According to Your request, I send you some publications—viz, The first and second Defence of Episcopacy: which I wish was reprinted in England; a Sermon preached at Dr Johnson's funeral; and another upon the first day sabbath. You have the Sermons the *Evidence for Christianity*, and another preached at Middletown. I have not the polemical Tracts that have been published in Connecticut, nor can I procure them; I once had them all; but they are gone with my Library, when Gov^r Tryon came, and undid me. Phebee wishes you happy, and wants to see you. May your new Son and his dear partner be happy. Thus prays

Eusebius

Six days after this Letter was wrote I rec^d your fav^r Aug^t 19. 86 in which you take notice, I did not mention your Letter to M^r Tyler; tho Dr^r Johnson did. I had not rec^d it when I wrote the June 1. 86. I suppose the Religion of S^t Paul at Rome and at Athens was y^e same. If so why may not we be of y^e same Religion under a Rebulican Gov^t, as if we were under a Monarchy? The Establishment in Religion is of human Institution; we are y^e very same as the Chh of England, y^t thing excepted. We derive our authority from y^e same fountain, and we hold to the same worship and Discipline. I can't conceive y^t you can be so infatuated as to suppose, y^t a Jacobite Bp cant convey *Apostolic power*, without conveying his political principles. Our desire to have a Bp was founded upon principles directly opposite to what you are pleased to charge us with. From hence it is plain we are not of the family of Corah, Dathan and Abirim; for if we belonged to y^m, we should have been contented with y^e power we had, and said there was none Superiour. I wish I could see those things y^t have been wrote against me.—for have not reached this Country.

I.e., become Congregationalists.

Luke 16:3-4.

C-nose [? Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler] had returned from a ten-year exile in Britain to Elizabethtown, N.J., in 1785. He had been proposed as the first bishop of Nova Scotia but had refused because of ill health. (Ing^{lis} was next considered.) Chandler died on June 17, 1790. See also letter [32].

William White's intimate friend, Thomas Coombe, of Philadelphia. Escaped to England, received a D.D. from Trinity College Dublin, was Prebendary of Canterbury and one of 48 chaplains to the King.

I.e., in heaven or hell.

Not identified.

See letter [5].
Col. Wm. Jarvis

An inventory of his library survives. See *Historiographer*, no. 42.

The following are all Leaming's works:

The Defence of the Episcopal Government of the Church, N.Y., 1786.

A Second Defence, of the Episcopal Government of the Church, New-York, 1770.

The True Christian's Support under Affliction... Preached... Jan. 9, 1772 at the Funeral of the Rev. Samuel Johnson, D.D. New-Haven, [1772].

The Evidence for the Truth of Christianity made Plain--from Matters of Fact...

Preached at Norwalk, January 28th, 1770

.... New-York, 1772. [Several editions.]

¹Ezra Stiles, born in New Haven, November 29, 1727. President Yale College from 1775 to his death on May 12, 1795.

²Bishop Seabury.

³Jonathan Trumbull.

⁴Ezra Stiles.

⁵Dr. Price.

⁶Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, afterwards first Bishop of Nova Scotia.

⁷Rev. Jacob Duche, a loyalist refugee in England, was born in Philadelphia in 1737 and ordained in 1759 and became Professor of Oratory at Harvard and later minister of the united churches of Philadelphia. At the outbreak of the Revolution Duche strongly favored the American cause and offered prayer at the first Congress. A few days after the British occupation of Philadelphia he addressed a letter to George Washington abjuring his former views. Towards the end of 1777 he proceeded to England and became preacher at the Lambeth Asylum. In 1789 he retired and returned to Philadelphia in 1790. He died January 3rd 1798. It may be noted that he was present at the consecration of White and Provost in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace in 1787.

[Peters has scrawled
at the end:]

We know not, & believe not in any Apostolic Power—
Kingly Power, or Henry 8th Power Civil is all in all

[26]

June 12. 1787.

my friend the unknown,

About three years since, a poor old limping fellow, hearing some Whigs lamenting their case, and complaining that Independence had not turned out as they expected, He said, it was a great pity that King G— when you insisted to be but upon no other plan, than this, You shall be an Independent Kingdom upon the same Constitution of Great Britain; and take my Second Son to be your King, and his Heirs after him forever; and you shall have a trade with my Kingdom as heretofore, and be in alliance with me, and be protected by my shipping.

These Sentiments have been working their way, till they seem to be almost ripe for Execution; and be not Started, if you should find, application made, to have it completed.

Tho the powers of all, or a most all in Europe have guaranteed our Independence, they have not determined what sort of Government we shall fix upon: and if we determine to be under a Monarchical Govt; we may be so; and consequently have a right to chuse whom we please to be our King. And in so doing, we all are, as *independent*, as if we, were republicans; and much more so.

no one can suppose that the people in Connecticut are Jacobites; when they wish one of the family on the throne of G B. should reign over us. this Scheme, originated in Connecticut.

I did not communicate this to You, till now: supposing it might not take place. But it appears now, to this old Cripple, that there is no other alternative, with which the people will be satisfied, but only this,— And provided this Scheme should be effected, it might be of great advantage to both the powers, that transact the affairs. For here is a foundation for the largest Empire; having all Climates in it,—a large sea Coast, Rivers running from all parts, which may be made to communicate with each other by channels; accordingly a water to transport every thing with the Smallest Expence.

Nothing is wanting to make us a happy people, but that Religion be properly Supported,—a Good permanent Government, a free trade; and the only thing that can effect all this, is now at this time, to fix upon Govt, that may produce these Blessings.

The old Cripple, has nothing to expect in this world, but persecution from his Enemies,—to be despised by the world, and to be laughed at by his friends. Accordingly his only wish is to be fit for Heaven, and carry as many as he can with him, and leave his Land under such Circumstances as to

rec'd Sept. 29.
Ans Octob—6—

The Reverend Samuel Peters
an Angelic Letter
Pimlico
London

independent, had not put
down his foot, and said,
you may be independent,

The second son was Frederick Augustus,
Duke of York and of Albany (1763-1827.
He was accomplished in military science.

Leaning's crippled condition dated back
to 1776, when the Sons of Liberty, on a
wintry night, dragged him from his Norwalk
bed and lodged him in the unheated county
jail as a Tory. The cold settled in his hip.

raise up many yet unborn, to be prepared for a blessed Immortality. If the true Doctrines of Religion are properly brought to the View of people, they must produce some good Effects. Our Resurrection may be clearly proved, Because the Dignity of the flesh is such, that it ought to be raised: The power of God is such, that it may be raised; The Justice of God requires that it should be raised; and the testimony of the Scripture is clear, that it shall be raised. When all these Evidences appear in one Subject, what is there, that can prevent a man from attending to the Evidence, which is so clear, and in an affair in which he is so much concerned? You will say perhaps, what, or who is this crooked old fellow who begins with politicks and ends in Religion? What has Religion and politicks to do together? more perhaps than is generally imagined. These Sentiments are communicated to You for your own use, and you are not to tell from whom they came, because you do not know, whose they are. For it is certified they are from your unknown friend; altho he heard that You have been a great sufferer; and had a sympathy with you, notwithstanding you did not know it. the paper is at an End, and the pen must Stop.

[27]

Stratford June 19. 1787

my dear friend.

I have rec^d Your favor of March the 28, in which you inform me You are become a Grandfather: and that you wrote that Letter out of Spite, and abused me Sufficiently for not sending Bp Seabury's Second Charge. I suppose Brother Hub^d was so much engaged to send them to You, that he forgot to send any to me; and You had no reason to blame me for not sending to You, when I had none for myself.

I see in the London papers, at Lambeth they talk of a Bp for Nova Scotia, but cannot find a proper person for it. Why is it, that you do not Step forward and point out one for them? for You know what man will answer, in that province, Since Doc^r C-r² has dropt the thot of a Mitre—

Before I rec^d your Letter, I sent a Letter, with a number of pamphlets to M^r Ravington at N-York to be forwards to you, without Expencc. had I rec^d yours first, I would have sent it in a way to make you pay postage. However all quar- riling aside. I must inform you, that when I rec^d your Letter to Tyler, I read it; and there was many things confuted, which supposed Tyler had not advanced. For I had not heard him say a word on the Subject: and supposed them too puerile, to be offered by a man of Sense, such as he was. but since that, I have heard him talk much upon the Subject; and then it put me upon taking another View of your Letter to Tyler: and must say, it is a compleat Confutation of all his childish Nonesence, And I thank you for doing Justice to the Truth.

I really are more desirous to see You than any one else, tho you have abused me so much, for supposing other men, meant as honestly as I did; when they made the highest professions of friendship toward me. I do not condemn a man, till he has proved himself, a villain, I have had the misfortune to be used in a base manner, by three men, who made the greatest professions of friendship, and the most Solemn promises to me, of their Sincere desire to serve me in anything, which lay in their power; while they had neither a Design nor Intention to do it. They were all three, more be-



Birdseyes letter May 25. 1787

The Reverend Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

Hond by m^r }
Rivington }

His Grandson was Samuel Peters
Jarvis, who died in Canada on
Oct. 19, 1792, aged 5 years and
7 months.

rec^d Sept. 29—
Answ^d Octob 6 & 12

See letter [24] above.

Are these the "trio" whom
SP cites at the end?

holden to me, than a little, nay than to any one else; from thence, I supposed, their professions of friendship were owing to a Spirit of Gratitude; when there was nothing, that was farther from their real Design. *O tempera, o mores.*—But notwithstanding these men had betrayed the sacred ties of friendship; and that I have by my weakness in favor of B. Gov^t, had the misfortune to loose between four and five thousand pounds; yet I thank God, I am better off, than either of the three; that have taken so much pains to keep me beneath them. What little Character I ever had, Still remains; while theirs is of such a nature, that if I was to preach a funeral Sermon for either, this should be my Text, *By this time he Stinketh.*

I am not the ^{only} man, that has been ^{abused} by the triumvirate, B Seabury had his share of it; for one of them rec^d a pension of £200 p An. for writing the peice A. W. Farmer:³ when they all three knew, Doc Sey⁴ was y^e author. neither was either of them able to write it—so that if I have been a fool, I have got good Company; If that Can be any Consolation. There is another misfortune attends me, I have always been diffident of my own Abilities; while others, who it may be, had no better, could exalt themselves to the highest. I am very much rejoiced to hear that Justice Stokes and family are well. make my Comp^{ts} acceptable to him, and to m^r and M^{rs} Jarvis; I am doing the best I can for your Sons Education. I have planned it so, that I have got a young man to board with him, who will teach him well. I wonder You do not send a power to some one to take the use of your Estate for your Son. I have heard you have the Degree of D D—I want that matter ascertained.

I am with every Sentiment of Love, Esteem and Regard,
Your most affectionate

Eusebius—

I have wrote in a great Hurry, and have not time to copy this Letter; which I should not fail to do when writing to a critick. Do not fail to write me as often as you can, for I have no other correspondent in England—

You say, we are united in disorder, and want of wisdom. We have just found it out. But Still we do not know w^t to do. We are in y^e same predicament with You at Home, over head and Ears in debt.

¹Rev. Dr. Bela Hubbard.

²Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler. Dr. Chandler was then in London and declined the Bishopric of Nova Scotia eventually returning to his former parish at Elizabeth New Jersey.

³Three pamphlets were published in 1774: 1. "Free thoughts on the Proceedings of the continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774", "By a Farmer"; 2. "The Congress Canvassed, or an Examination into the conduct of the delegates at their Grand Convention, held in Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1774, Addressed to the Merchants of New York", "By A. W. Farmer"; 3. A View of the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies", "By A. W. Farmer". The authorship of these pamphlets was attributed to various writers, including Seabury. Rev. Jonathan Boucher in his volume of Sermons, "View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution", attributes the authorship of the pamphlets to Seabury, although the British Government actually granted a pension for this service to another person. For a full discussion of this question of Memoir of Bishop Seabury by William Jones Seabury, D. D. (New York: Edwin S. Gorham. 1908. Pp. 166-170.)

⁴Dr. Samuel Seabury.

⁵Auchmuty was a one time rector of Trinity Church, New York; Cooper was Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, one time president of King's College, New York; Leaming, Bela Hubbard, Scovill, Andrews, were clergy of Connecticut—all Loyalists.

Cicero, Orationes in Catilinam, I.2.

John 11:39.

Judge Anthony Stokes, born in England in 1736 and died in London March 27, 1799, had been chief Justice of Georgia but being a Loyalist eventually reached England. In 1783 he published View of the Constitution of the British Colonies in North America and the West Indies.

power of attorney

SP's superscription:

oh Chandler, Auchmuty & Vardil-Trio—
Good Leaming, Cooper, Jarvis, Hubbard, Scovill, Andrews
neeland—
deceived by the Trio—

5 Samuel Auchmuty
John Vardill
Abraham Jarvis
James Scovill
Samuel Andrews
Ebenezer Kneeland

[28]

Sep 10. 1787.

my dear Sir,

In what have I offended, that hath caused you to forget your old friend? I want much to hear from you. But it must not be in the political Line; for my Letters of late, have their Seals broke; and you know what is y^e design, when such things are done.

There is nothing but disappointment in trade, and consequently nothing but poverty to be heard of. Oh! I am mistaken; there is pride, discontent, confusion, and every evil work, cry aloud, to be gratified. And yet we are so bewildered, that we cant believe there is either of these things in the Land. To Speake the truth, we are proud of our Humility. You may think this is impossible; but depend upon it, it is true; it is a Self evident Truth, therefore, do not Scruple to affirm it.

If poverty will make us good Christians, we shall excel all the world. But I have my fears; we shall notwithstanding our poverty go on in the way of the world, seeking for happiness where it cannot be found. There is a certain set of people making Infidels as fast as they can, by preventing children from being made Christians by baptism, unless their parents were in *full Communion*. In many of the Towns there are 500. Or 600—that are grown up; and still have not been baptised, that is remain heathen. In a few years, the greatest part of the Congregations, will be such. No matter whether they make any profession of Religion, if they go to meeting and set by a pillar, or in a certain pew; they are Christians, nay good Christians, if they do not hear one word in ten; and do not beleive one in twenty that they do hear. And I may say, it would be better to believe nothing, than to suppose they are X^{ns}, without Baptism.

Every Invention is at work, to prove, that Religion is not Divine, y^t the Officers are not Divine, and the Ordinaces are not Divine. If the people can be bröt into these Sentiments, there is an End of all Religion at once. I cant but hope, there is yet some method will be discovered, to bring the Truth to Light, that hath been so long burried under the Seabrooke platform. In rubbish of the old temple perhaps, may be found, that old Book, which will teach us *in the Truth*—and shew Religion to come from heaven.

It seems M^d will have some Religion; and the old Serpent will engage their utmost attention to Religion, provided it is not the *true*; and accordingly they are led captive at his will—And there is so many Sorts, every one may chuse that *wh^h* like, and yet chuse a false Rel. God grant that y^e true may yet take root. *gy*

While I was writing this Letter, I heard B^r H^d had rec^d a Large packet from you, but not so such a Scrip for that old croked fellow, that you know has more Love for you than a 1000 of the great; tho you will continue to abuse him Yet, either by neglect, or a more severe conduct, raising his hopes, in order to disappoint. What is become of y^e great man who waited long for a mitre; and now says, Why are y^e wheels of his Chariot so long in coming? never mind it he has haughty patience; and that will endure all things, hope all things; even hope against hope. However all may yet be right, if we can find the old Book. that it may be so, is the earnest wish of all pious men. And thus prays, your old friend ——— keep your own Counsels, and mine. And yet be a man of my own heart, and you shall be my apollo —

M^r Samuel Peters
Pimbllico
London



rec^d Nov: 24
Ansrd 6

The Saybrook Platform, drawn up at Saybrook, Conn., in 1708, continued in force until 1784. It was a declaration of principles by the Congregationalists.

2 Kings 22:8-13.

A reference to the stirrings of Roman Catholicism in Maryland following the Revolution, leading to the establishment of the Bishopric of Baltimore in 1788. John Carroll was consecrated its first bishop in 1790.

Judges 5:28.

1 Cor. 13:7.

2 Kings 22:8-13.

See Vergil, Eclogues, iii, line 104, referring to the oracle of the temple of Apollo: Eris mihi magnus Apollo. (Thou shalt be my great Apollo.)

[31]

your orthodoxy, Piety, Morality & charities are damning sins in England & in all Europe— Infidelity & Policy make Bishops & give rich livings, when covered with Smiles Hypocrisy & Smectymnean covetiousness— the old Book our Guide to Glory, is an obsolete Trifle here & will be more so with your Jonath^{ns} & Ezra—and all America—

Written by SP on the back of letter [28] and probably used as a reply to Leaming under date of Nov. 6, 1787.

Cf. Smectymnus, title of a pamphlet attacking the episcopate (1641). See the works of John Milton.

[32] Punkin Town Nov^r 9. 1787~

my dear Sir,

I find you complain that I do not write to you: which is a mistake; altho I do not like to accuse you of mistakes: but am obliged to do it now in my own defence, for have wrote to you four times, since have rec^d any Letter from you. It may be they are not yet rec^d but few Oppor^s present to London. And I desired M^r R. in N York, not to send them ^{by} the way of Falmoth: as there are a number of pamphlets which might put an expence upon you. Have made matters as easy for you as I could. Every thing ought to be easy, when it is so easy to be made a Bp. and so easy to conduct y^e Business after they are made. Had I ^{have} known this before, I should not have been so diffident as I have been. I have not Vanity enough to think myself equal to some that are Bps, but perhaps this may be the Effects of old age. Be it so: no matter, old age, is good enough: provided tis thot to be able to defend the Doc^{es} and Discipline of the Chh. as it is in fact, when they want any Support they run to the old man. When it is printed will send you a copy, to return the Comp^t, of an excellent Serⁿ you preached at D^r Moffatts funeral. Upon further consideration I will turn over a new leaf with you. And call you to ^{an} acc^t, for neglecting an old friend, because of the Infirmities of age, hath crept upon him. He is yet capable of friendship, and can by no means, be willing to be buried before he is dead.

I want much to know, what your future prospects are, which I have never been able to learn from you, or anyone else. I should suppose, that if the prospects of the Clergy, that are gone to N Scotia, are as good, as they imagine, you would have taken your choice of the parishes there. But as you did not, I conclude, they are all, mistaken in their Views. And it will turn out to be a court Scheme, to get them there; and after a few years, drop them out of the tale of the Cart. I do suppose you would have gone there, had you have known, that a certain man² would have rid into that province upon D^r C-nose³

Many there, love him, as well as you do; the Bandelet of his Mitre, will be very tite, notwithstanding all his hautiness.

Your dear Son will carry this Letter to you. and I pray God to grant him a save passage; and may God bless the Child; and make him a comfort to you; which will give me great pleasure.*

You know, when my friendship is fixed it is unmoveable, unless something is brought upon the Stage, that will marr the best of all our Enjoyments.

Reverend Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

rec- March 10. 1788—
Answ^d 24—

A reference to Dissertations upon Various Subjects, which may be well worth the attention of every Christian, New-Haven, 1788. (Often reprinted.)

See title on next page.

SP has noted his admiration for Leaming in an epigraph:
You certainly are a pure divine & Prophet—having a right Notion concerning Men in times of Yore & the present Age—

may I have your friendship during Life, and enjoy a
Blessed Eternity with you. Thus prays

Your affectionate
Eusebius.

P. S. I know, I have not right to ask an Excuse for sending
you a hastily Letter. No, Political affairs must pass between
you and me.

¹Mr. Rivington, New York and London bookseller.

²The reference is apparently to Dr. Charles Inglis, who became
the first Bishop of Nova Scotia.

³Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

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William Birdseye Peters was the son of Dr. Samuel Peters by
his third wife, Mary Birdseye, to whom he was married in 1772. She
died three weeks after the birth of William in 1774. He joined his
father in England in 1774 and was educated there. Later he came to
Canada, where he was till the War of 1812. He then returned to
Connecticut and from there to Alabama, where he died.
He sailed from New
York in Sept., 1788.

A
S E R M O N,

PREACHED AT

CHARLOTTE CHAPEL, PIMLICO,

On SUNDAY the 25th of MARCH, 1787,

ON THE DEATH OF

THOMAS MOFFATT, M.D.

Late of New London, in Connecticut,

Who died at GROSVENOR-PLACE in the Parish of St. GEORGE,
HANOVER-SQUARE, March 14, 1787,

IN THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

By SAMUEL PETERS, A.M.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED BY D. AND D. BOND.

M DCC LXXXVII.

[35]

New Stratford or Independence
June 25. 1788

My dear Sir,

I am now set down to write an answer to four Letters rec^d
from you. They were, that is the three first, were dated
Oct^r the 6. and the 12th; and Nov^r 6, 1787. These Letters
didnt come to hand till Feb. and March; when I was engaged
in writing Dissertations &c so I concluded not to answer them
till those Dissertations were printed. A copy of which I now
send you. and wish it may come safe to hand. And the fourth
Letter dated the 2^d Ap^r 1788, I rec^d this day.

The reason why my Letters, did not arrive to you as soon
as common, was, because I desired M^r Rivington not to send
them unless in a ship for London. I hope we are not quite
so bad as you imagine. In the Piece I send, you will find, I

Reverend Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

See preceding page.

rec^d Octob 2^d —
Answ. Nov.

have Spoke plain, and not spared any, that deviate from the Church, when it was first planted by the Apostles, under Inspiration, with the same Commission that Christ rec^d from his Father. If I do not understand the Office of modern Bps, you will see, I hope, that I understand y^e Office of ^{an} ancient Bp. as to the Bp of *Scotos*, he will not eat morrow pudding, unless some one else provides y^m. As to the Snares that are laid to catch ambitious men, I am exempt from the danger; for if it had not been for my diffidence, I should have accepted of the Honor offered me. I wish you would tell me, what Snares are laid, that can endanger us— I know, that Pr y has proposed to model the affairs of these States, according to his own Views, in Chh and State. and to form all the people here, upon the plan of Unitarians. This he will not be able to do, if the Chh will be as carefull in this point, as it ought to be. And we shall be unmoveable, unless we depart from our former Character. There is one, that as long as he is able to hold his pen, who will defend the Chh against all those that attack her. And altho, you may say, he does not write with the Spirit, which formerly dictated his pen; Yet if they make any reply to him, it will Stir up his fire, that hath been burried with ashes of old age. When he is writing for the Chh, he feels a young Soul, reviving in an old Body.

Your Son, Birdseye Peters, went from here to N York, to go and see you; but when he came to N York, his heart failed him, and he returned to this place. I wrote you by him, but you do not mention the receipt of that Letter.

Whether your Son will now go home, upon the Invitation you give him, is with me, a matter of doubt. I should think by the abuse you are casting upon the poor Americans, you had an absolute hatred to us; were it not, that you sometimes let something slip from your pen, which shews, after all your sourness is mingled with a double Acid, you have a Love for the Clergy of this State. And I must say, you would be more happy, provided you come to this Town, and lived with your Father, and take care of his affairs, which he is not able to do himself. And as little worth as I am, I doubt not but

we should in the cloudy part of Life, enjoy some pleasure, in each others company. If you were to be here only six months you might get your Estate into your own hands. You cant depend upon any that you have employed. They cant do in that affair as you can. with every Sentiment of Esteem, regard and love, I am, your ever affectionate

Eusebius—

I am not able to give any acc^t concerning M^{rs} Reed—have not had time to make enquiry; shall write as soon as I have. and suppose that Letter will reach you before this: I desire Mr. Rivington not to send this, till he can send it, without postage—

[SP has scribbled the following notes on the back:]

John Henry Berenger de Beaufain Erlang in the
Marggraviat of Ansbac Bayreuth Frederick

Berenger de, Beaufain
Louis, Granville in Georgia, Parrsboro—
Collector at Charlestown & one of the Council—
died Octo 6 1766—David Rhind—George Schutz
Executors—

mouth of River Apesque
south Lewis devoll S. & W—wild Land
Col—Montagu

I.e., Bp. Charles Inglis of Nova Scotia.
? marrow pudding

Probably Joseph Priestly
(1733-1804), British Unitar-
ian, author of the First
Principles of Government.

He finally sailed for Eng-
land in September, 1788.

See letter [28] for reference
to second son of George III.

?Parrsboro, Nova Scotia

[36]

Stratford Aug^t 29. 1788~

Dear sir,

Have this day rec^d your Letter dated 13 June. And am not a Little Surprised to find, That you have deserted your old principles, and gone over to D^r Stiles exactly: If he had the Letter you wrote me, he would hug you to death. I cant but wonder w^t there is in the Air of London, and all other Cities, to convert men, Who are honest, to turn Dissenters.

I have sent you my *Dissertations*; and I suppose it will mortify you beyond measure, to find, That y^r old friend hath made himself contemptible in y^e Eyes of all Europe, (as you express it) by assert the Truth, I have not taken my Maxims from common, Law; not consulted what Christ *might have done*; but what in fact, *he has done*. Had I known, you had deserted the Church Christ has appointed, I would not

given you occasion to blush on my acc^t, among your European protestants. However, you must get along as you can; as all other Dissenters do—Ephraim is joined to his Idols—D^r P. y- St-^s Billy Whig. I wonder you have sent for your Son: Dr. Stiles could have taught him, all your Creed, and would have exalted him and You, to the highest Heaven, along with Gov^r T—And the G. will be so well pleased that he will give you the Right hand of fellowship.

I must say, it is unaccountable to me how you could get y^e Cant of y^e party so soon, and so exact. The Dissenters were for ever, when I was in College, dinning in my Ears, with y^e protestant Line of y^e Royal House of Hanover—When y^e English, Stiled themselves the reformed Chh. I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now; for when men are newly converted, they are too eager and warm to be informed, altho they might possibly be in Error.

When y^e world has once begun to use us ill, it afterwards continues with the less Ceremony. And the man that despises it, has overcome it. You have let nosey escape, in your last Letter, which you have not in any You have sent me four years past I suppose you imagine he is dead. I expect I should hear you repeat, the Dutch proverb, *He that cuts off his Nose, Spoils his face*. But you never forget the other D^r. He is the lost Sheep wandering in the mountains of— But Solaces himself, y^t when true Genius appears, all y^e Dunces are in confederacy against him.

I am not over Anxious about obtaining the good Opinion of your European protestants, for they have contrives so, as to rob me of more than £4000; when they promised it should be made good, to me, altho they never designed it. And I was so credulous as to believe it. Bought wit they say is y^e best; but mine is too large a purchase. However it is no great to me. I am far advanced in Life, and provided I have acted right, as I believe I have, I know I shall receive a better reward than they can give, so shall be content. with the hopes that Religion affords: notwithstanding it is so contemptible in Eyes of all Europe. Let that be as it may, I would not part with it, for all y^e Riches of Europe—

I have been in hopes, that You, and I should meet in y^e same mansions of Bliss in another world: But as you have turned Dissenter, my hopes are at an End; for tho suppose y^e Dissenters have mansions of happiness in that world, perhaps they will not be the same of those of the true Chh—may you see the truth, is the prayer, of your most aff. friend

wrote in great haste.

Eusebius.—

M^r PetersReverend Samuel Peters
LondonHonoured by }
Your Son }

Ezra Stiles

See letter [32].

Hosea 4:17

Dr. Joseph Priestly
Dr. Ezra Stiles
William Pitt

Gov. Trumbull

Part of Protestant ordinations.

John 16:12

SP continually condemned Dr.
Charles Inglis in his letters.

mountains of [Nova Scotia?]

rec^d Nov. 16—
Answ^d Nov. 17—Since Wm. Birdseye Peters
carried this letter, he must
have reached London on Nov. 16.

If the Apostles did not mistake their master, I have not. If y^v did, Religion is all a Delusion at the best, which God forbid!

If your protestants in Europe have deserted the Chh w^h Christ Instituted and have made one they like; we in America are determined to perpetuate y^t w^h is Divine, in Spight of all that they can say or do—

[39]

Stratford March 17. 1789

dear sir,

I have received two Letters from you, the last dated the 18 Nov^r — for which you have my hearty thanks. You give such an Acc^t of the Chh in England, that I am surprised that you do not wish to come here, and enjoy the Benefits of a true Apostolical Chh.

I Suppose you believe that Christ hath a Chh in some part of y^e world; in which there are the same officers as were first appointed by the Apostles. And is not Connecticut the place where such a Chh may be found?

In short, the truth is, there is two sorts of people, the world, and the Chh of Christ, that is chosen out of the world. These Latter hold fast to the Faith once delivered to the Saints; they have turned their backs upon the world, and Set their faces toward Zion. And altho the world should say to us, as festus did to S^t Paul, *thou art beside thyself, thou art mad*, yet we shall esteem it ^{as} a favor to be called fools for Christ's sake; and we wish all those who despise us, altogether such as we are, except our Poverty.

It appears strange to me, to hear a man of sense, Argue in this manner, the world have not believed the Truth, therefore I will not—

What Signifies to multiply words in the Case? Ephraim is joined to his Idols, therefore let him alone. Yet be assured, you will alway have a Sincere friend in

Eusebius.

P. S. Phebe* joins with Eusebius in the warmest regard to Mr and Mrs Jarvis.

The Reverend Doctor
Samuel Peters
Pemlico
London

Jude 3

Acts 26:24
1 Cor. 4:10

Job 34:37 and 35:16
Hosea 4:17

*See letter [5].

recd May 21
Answd May 28

Col. and Mrs. William Jarvis

[42]

Stratford Nov^r 2. 1789

my very dear sir,

Notwithstand all your Scolding about the baseness of the times, you have preached and published a most excellent Sermon, and favoured me with a Copy of it, for which You have my hearty thanks: as it atones for all your Excentricities in another Line.

I have to acknowledge your very much esteemed favours of the 28th of may, and the 4th of Aug^t last. You desire to know what passes here in our Chh: we are endeavouring to put our Southern Chhs, upon a Christian foundation which I think will be effected; they now desire we may be in union with y^m upon such a plan, that I hope will turn to advantage, Bp Seabury is now gone to Phil^a and two of his Clergy Hubbard and Jarvis; in order y^t something may be done properly in the affair. I hear that Bp S. presides at the Convention.² And for that reason hope there will be a new turn for the better, as I hear, he has been very much carest there, and Bp White³ is his fast friend; tho you have prophesied no Good

The Rev^d Dr Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
London

See title on next page.

received Feb^y 1--90
Ans--March 14--90
by Woolsey—

"Capt. Woolsey" is mentioned
in Papers.

to come from that man: yet if he should actually upon Trial be found to embrace the Truth, I suppose you will not refuse him absolution, in as much as you say some presbyterians are gone to heaven because they repented. I begin to think, that you are full as much *pleased* with them, as you say, I am. however let that matter be as it may, I am much pleased to find that you are not quite turn *Mehomatant*; Yet I have my fears, as you have no wife, and that Religion promises so much pleasure with the fine Ladies in the other world, and some of them in this; it may be well, for you, to enquire a little about ye Evidence given for what is asserted by that sort of people. I imagine you will not take matters upon Trust, without seeing your way clear. So that I have some hopes you will yet, notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Christian world, not leave us intirely, but will join with the Scotch Bps, as you seem to have some *Small* Value for them. I hope you will maturely consider this matter. It is a great thing to change Religion. And especially *to* exchange a good one, for a bad one. And the only reason why the change was made, was the bad Lives of those who made a profession; and not from any Errors in the Religion itself. If the mahomatant Rel could *bestow* things, upon which you *prity* value *much* your self, there might be some excuse for you. If it could give you more Beauty, or more wit, or more politeness, or more knowledge, or more Benevolence, or more honesty, or more Sincerity, or

more Love for the poor Americans; there might be some Excuse urged in Your favour; but for a man possessed with all these Endowments, to change his Rel, is absolutely preposterous. And I make no doubt, when you View the Subject in this Light you will, be of y^e Same mind with

old friend, who loves you so much, that he wishes to enjoy Heaven with you, and some other Saints, who have that Benevolence which those Blessed Regions, above are constantly chanting in Halalujahs to the Redeemer of Sinful mortals. adue my dear sir

D^r Peters.

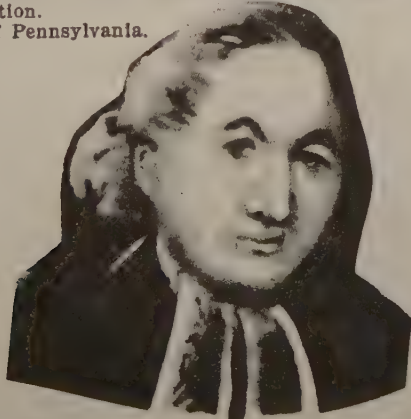
J Leaming

want of health prevented my going to Phil^a but am now in some measure recovered.

¹The term "Southern Church" is used in these letters to designate the Episcopal churches outside New England.

²The difficulties which threatened to divide the churches in New England from the other States were finally settled at an adjourned meeting of the General Convention which commenced September 29, 1789, in Philadelphia. On October 2nd Bishop Seabury, together with Bela Hubbard and Abraham Jarvis, deputies from Connecticut, and Samuel Parker, representing Massachusetts and New Hampshire, signed the modified Constitution of the Church and took their seats in the Convention.

³Bishop of Pennsylvania.



SAMUEL PETERS

M DCC LXXXVIII.

PRINTED BY C. G. PURDON

L O N D O N :

On SUNDAY the 31st of AUGUST, 1788,

Before the SHERIFFS of LONDON,

PREVIOUS TO THE

Execution of fundry Malefactors under Sentence of Death.

By the Rev. SAMUEL PETERS, A.M.

of GROSVENOR-PLACE, WESTMINSTER.

*The Will of Man regulated and made perfect
by the Wisdom of God.*

A

S E R M O N,

PREACHED IN THE

CHAPEL of NEWGATE.

[The dating of the following rough draft of a Samuel Peters letter to Leaming is conjectural. Not having discovered in print or in manuscript anything Leaming wrote on the Doctrine of Election, I have not had the benefit of a terminus a quo for such an attempt. The subject was in the limelight, however, between 1788 and 1792. For example, the Reverend H. Gray, writing to Peters in London on Dec. 5, 1788, enclosed an extract from a Boston paper concerning Peters's "Puritan Brethren, the Saints in Connecticut, and their doctrines of Election and Reprobation."¹ The battle of the 1740's between John Wesley's doctrine of Free Grace (Universalism) and old-guard Calvinism had revived in Connecticut in 1791, when a bookseller in Windham reissued George Whitefield's The Doctrine of Election Defended and Supported. Being a Letter...in answer to a Sermon, published by the Rev. John Wesley, in Favour of Universal Redemption.² Since at least one of Leaming's publications is not included in most bibliographies of his works, it may be that there are others to be discovered. Definitive dating of the letter that follows may have to be postponed until we have the benefit of such new evidence.]

1 See Papers of Loyalist
Samuel Peters, p. 65.
2 Copy in the New York Public Library.

[43] PETERS TO LEAMING. [London, 7 March 1790]

Reverend Sir—

I have read your Sermon on the Doctrine of Election with much pleasure & attention and approve highly of the Zeal & candour it bears—yet I have somewhat to say against the Doctrine contained in it, which is called Calvinism—and you have promised to bear with your friend that shall throw any light in your way,—and I am your friend—and will at least attempt to show your Diffinition of Election not agreeable to my Apprehension—

you admit an immeasurable fulness of Grace is treasured up in Christ to be communicated to every Beleiver—and that Christ died for all—and yet admit unbelievers perish because God gives them not faith—and this Faith is refused by the Sovereignty of God because in justice he is not obliged to give it, in consequence of the Ransom paid by Christ for all—

If God in justice is obliged to give faith to any one for whom Christ died, it must be because of the Ransom paid—and if God gives faith to one for whom the Ransom was paid and withholds Faith from another for whom the Ransom was paid, and acts justice in doing so, it follows that God in justice gives & withholds faith, without any regard to the Ransom paid, which proves the Ransom to be a nullum in se—and that Christ died in vain—because God in Sovereign Justice could without the Ransom have done as much as he now does— you admit, that "God will save all he intended to save"—that is, all Beleivers—and yet "in strict Justice no beleiver can Claim salvation on the account of Christ's Atonement"—altho' the faith & promise of God are Security to every Beleiver in Christ—which faith & Promise were procured by the Price paid—this is at once to release God of his faith & Promise even to Beleivers, and to leave Beleivers without a Redeemer—because the Bargain between the Father and the Son is so loosely made that the Father in Justice is not bound to save one for whom Christ died—nor can one Beleiver be Saved by the fulness of Christ unless that fulness is made effectual by the mercy of God— If this be the Case, the Socinians are in the right in saying we are saved by the Mercy of God without the intervention of the Atonement of Christ—

The Reason is, if God in Justice can refuse salvation to Beleivers redeemed by Christ, he may by parity of Reason refuse it to unbelievers, and no worse could have been done if Christ had not suffered—ergo—the mercy of God & not the atonement of Christ, is the Christian's Helmet— you admit—that no one has any Claim on God's Sovereignty, previous to his faith in Christ—and after his faith in Christ he has no Claim on the justice of God— what profit is then in Christ's blood? God's Mercy is all in all—

Beleivers receive of the fulness of Christ—unbelievers do not—therefore, they remain under sin where the first Adam placed them— had the unbelievers placed themselves under sin they might in Justice (without Mercy) have remained under self condemnation—but as the fulness of Christ is revealed to be extended to every man and is all-sufficient for all; such as perish—perish not for any defect on the Part of Christ; they must perish thro' the defect of mercy on the Part of God, or thro' the sin of the first Adam— the last cannot be the Case—for where sin hath abounded, Grace hath more abounded in the Second Adam, the first cannot be the Case—for, "God desires not the death of any one" and "wills all men to be saved"— ergo—he has not withheld any thing necessary for the salvation of all— what could

he have done more for his Vineyard? he has hedged it in from the wild Boar—given his only son to dress it—& the holy Ghost to enrich it— See that you refuse not the Son— See that you refuse not the holy Ghost—the Comforter, who shall lead you into all truth— refusing Christ and the Guidance of the holy Ghost on the part of Man is the cause of our sin & condemnation—not because Adam sinned or because God refuses any necessary part of his sovereign mercy— the man that was born blind had no sin in consequence of his native Blindness— Sin is the transgression of the Law of an holy God— virtue, charity, faith & obedience to the holy Law of God is the perfect & holy life of Man required by God, in this state of tryal—and to suppose virtue by faith in Christ is required of us by God—and that, God requires virtue by faith, without giving us that faith which by the fulness of Christ was bought for all previous to any faith in Christ, and yet supposing, God gives said faith to one and thereby he becomes a Believer, & withholds it from another whereby he remains an unbeleiver renders God to be merciful to one & unmerciful to the other—than which the grand Turk or greatest Tyrant could not act upon Principles less pleasing in the Light of Common Justice— "two shall be grinding in the Mill—the one shall be taken and the other left" is not to the purpose as that relates to natural life or Death—and not to future Rewards & Punishments—

Rev^d Leaming, the Good man

S Peters



[44]

New York Aug^t 6. 1790

dear Sir,

The Complaint I have labour under for several years has now taken possession of my hands, am Scarce able to hold a pen, yet cannot fail to answer your Letter dated March 14—for w^h fav^r you have my hearty thanks. I have a heart yet, tho have not much use of my hands.

D^r Madison is elected Bp for Virⁿ, and is now on his passage for London for ought that I know; have not heard that he has sailed. Prost¹ refused to join in consecrating him; w^t will be the result, cannot say—

I am not able to do the Duty of my parish, or that I shall be^{so} soon; and I should not chuse to preach till the people might say, I wish y^t old man w^d leave off preaching; accordingly have given up my parish to James Sayre²—and have removed to N Y, to spent the Close of Life in private, at w^h place shall be glad to receive your Commands.

Before I left Stratford, I took care that M^r Birdseye should make his will. I drew it for him and made it exactly according to his own Inclination; and must say, it is done as it ought to be—he has ordered that his whole Estate shall be equally divided between his two Grandsons—

You as a friend will excuse my blunders, for am not able at present to transcribe this Letter, as it is too painful for me to do it. my love to your good family, dear sir, concludes me your aff Friend—&c.

J. L—

¹Samuel Provoost, Bishop of New York.

²The Rev. James Sayre had a troubled career in the Church. In 1771 he was admitted to the Bar of New York; then entered the ministry and became a chaplain to a British regiment, which post he resigned in 1777 "impelled by distress, severity of treatment and by duty" (Sabine: *Loyalists*. Vol. II, p. 265). He appears to have ministered at Brooklyn, N. Y., for a time, and later in Connecticut. Under date of July 17, 1786, Bishop Seabury recommended him to be rector of Trinity Church, Newport, R. I. (Mason: *Annals of Trinity Church*, pp. 179-181), and he entered on his ministry there on August 6. In 1790 he removed to Stratford. He entered a formal protest against the proceedings of the General Convention of 1789 and fell under ecclesiastical censure. Before his death in 1798 it was discovered that he was insane.

Rec^d. Jan. 12—91

Doc^r Samuel Peters
Grosvenor place
a Copy
London

James Madison was consecrated on Sept. 19, 1790, by Abp. John Moore (Canterbury), Beilby Porteus (London) and John Thomas (Rochester).

For more details about the will, see letter [49].

[45]

New York Oct 29. 1790.—

Dear Sir,

I have been strangely disappointed in my application to Government for Compensation for the Losses I sustained. The first I sent to London in 1784, to the care of Bp Seabury. he did not receive it. Afterward I sent my papers concerning that affair to Nova Scotia to be laid before the Commissioners there. The matter was delayed, and nothing done. And now have wrote to the person who held those papers, desiring him to enclose them and send them to You. I understand the Door is yet open.—And I beg the favour of you, to undertake the Business, in case you see there is any prospect of Success. And I will make you a due Compensation for your trouble.

The Land was 70 Acres, a house and Barn upon it, lying at Middletown, which was confiscated and Sold. It is prized at £360—Lawfull money. The Land lying at Norwalk was 40 Acres, confiscated and Sold—prized at £191:10—Another little Farm of 44 Acres with a house and Barn upon it lying at Farmington, was confiscated and Sold: prized at £206.—

Doctor Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
London.

rec^d Dec^r 23—90—

And I lost all I had in my house, and all the obligations I had for money and all debts—And beside these things, a house in Boston at the South End of the Town was pulled down by General Gage to make fortifications there, for which house I was offered £200 Sterling by a man in Boston, but only one week before Boston was shut up—But afterwards could not get a Letter in; and provided I could, it would have been too late when the house was demolished.

I believe Gov^t must be tired with hearing the doleful Storries of the suffering Americans: And I suppose those who have *lost* the *least*, have the most to say—But I abhor all deceit; but none so much, as to deceive the Gov^t in this case. I had rather have nothing at all; than to deceive them in the minute Circumstance.

My hands are better than they were, but lame—I have sent you a Copy of two Letters wrote some time ago—suppose if you had rec^d them, I should have had Letters from you before now—

My best regards to Mr^r Jarvis and his Lady; and believe me to be with every Sentiment and Esteem Your most aff. Friend

Eusebius—

P. S. am so lame it is difficult for me write—

2^d P. S. You can repret my case to Gov^t better than anyone in the world beside. for you have known me, and can say from your own knowledge, that would be more convincing than any thing that could be done by those who are not acquainted with me. And provided anything is obtained should be glad it might be placed in a public found in Brintain—

D^r Petters.



REV. BELA HUBBARD, D.D.

[47]

New York. Nov. 17. 1790—

Dear sir,

It is not a formal, but a real friendship which causes me to persecute You so often with my Letters— Indeed this Letter, is founded upon self Love; a hope of obtaining what is justly due, from the naval department when they were here in the time of the late war—

The Admiral put some Coopers into a Tenement of mine, which they kept possession of, for the Space of Seven years and three months; the same Tenement and Lot, could have been Leased at the rate of £40^p An. and as soon as the peace was made was leased at the rate of £40^p An. And I now receive that Rent for it every year—

You know how to apply, and to whom; and I can't think they would refuse the payment of a debt so just—and it was a place so much wanted, that they could not do without it. You may ask why I did not apply at an earlier period. My answer is; I was told, there would be Commissioners sent, to pay off such Debts—But I do not find that to be true: I make this application—

May Heaven bless you and Yours—thus prays old—
Eusebius.—

P. S. I applied to the Admiral that he would give me possession of it; But he replied, it would be done, only by shewing him another place where was as large a Lot. My Lot was 100 feet depth—

Admiral Arbothnot told me I might depend upon his word, that I should be paid £40 —^p An—when told him I could rent

Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
fav^r Capt^r Woolsey
London

Rec^d Jan^y 12th —91
Answ^d Feb^y —2^d —

Marriot Arbuthnot (1711?-1794),
commissioner of navy, Halifax,
1775-1778; admiral, 1778; com-
mander of North American station,
1779-1781.

it at that rate. If the Form of acc^t, I have herewith given, is not proper, I wish you would form one for me that is right—

The Government of Great Britain Debtor to Jeremiah Leaming Clerk—

this	To a large Lot of Ground and Store occu- pied by Coopers for the Navy from the 20 th
acc ^t	July 1776, to Novemby 1783. being Seven
entered	years and three months £290—New York
upon	money—Errors excepted by Jeremiah Leaming
Book	New York
Nov ^r	Nov ^r 15. 1790—
20. 1783	



THE SUN
SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

[49]

New York Ap 18. 1791

The Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters—
Grosvenor place
London

my dear Sir,

I have not rec^d your fav^r of the 29 of Oct^r last, till within a few days. You observe I have *Otium cum dignitate, even in pergamos*. I endeavor to act my part, with propriety, I preach when it is proper. and when I do preach, I deliver the Truth. And the people recieve it, and say, they obtain more information from one discourse of mine, than they do from all the preaching they hear besides.

Why I did not inform you of Doc^r Chandler's death, was owing to my inability to write at that time. And when I was able to write, I knew you must have been informed of it: for you get the knowledge of things done here before I do; first I know of many transactions here, I receive from Doc^r Peters Doc^r Beach preached his (Dr C.) funeral Serⁿ, which I did not know till you told me of it. It is not printed. And after the great character of Dr C in England, he had not so much as a *news* paper penegerick in this City. The muses Slept; and the poets were dumb. You mention Maddison^{*} as making up the *cannonical* Number: And tell me, of M^r Pauls ordaining Timothy Bp of Crete, You say, you are informed of this out of an obsolete Book. I have a Book, I am persuaded is as old as yours, which acquaints me, that this M^r Paul ordained Titus Bp of Crete.

I have rec^d Your Letter of Feb. 2. 91. And find you have had wrong Notions about M^r Birdseyes will. I suppose it hath arisen from my not describing of it Exactly. This is the Truth M^r Birdseye give part of his Estate to his Son: that was confiscated: but not sold; five Acres excepted. And after the peace they could not sell it; and it was given back to Everet as heir of his father. And M^r Birdseye hath given just the same to your Son; and then has ordered the remainder of the Estate to be equally divided between your son, and Everet— M^r Birdseye did not give half of his Land to his Son; it was only half of the home Lot, and five Acres down in the field. He has given the other half of the home Lot to your Son, before he orders a division of the Estate between them.

I am your friend, and ever shall be in the best Sense of the word, and I hope to conduct in such a manner as to retain Your friendship to the last moment of Life. I wish I could spend some time in your Conversation which would give me the greatest pleasure. But that cannot be. However I endeavor to make the most[^] of such Conversation as I have. But really the most part of it, is very insipid to old Age. It is natural to love old friends, that are friends indeed: and old wine that is genuine. But you are not to suppose, I am be-

"Ease (or leisure) with dignity."
Cicero, *Pro Publico Sestio*, 45.
Rev. 1:11 and 2:12

Thomas Bradbury Chandler died
in Elizabethtown, N.J., on
June 17, 1790.
Dr. Abraham Beach

rec^d 28 June 91
Ans—28
Item Aug^t 8

William Birdseye Peters
Everett son of Capt. Everett
Birdseye

come immoderate in the use of that blessing of Heaven, which was designed to cheer the Spirits of old age.

Letters came by the same Ship in which yours came to me, from a Gentleman who went from this City to obtain a compensation for his confiscated Estate: and he writes he is like to obtain it. I suppose it is no strange thing, that the door should be shut against a Clergyman who suffered more than any, and yet compensation to be given to others.

Altho it is impossible for us to meet here, yet I hope we may meet in Heaven and spend a happy Eternity together;— Is it possible, that such friendship as hath subsisted between you and me, should come to an End, when you and myself shall quit these Teniments of Clay?

I am with every Sentiment of Regard, Esteem and Gratitude your most affectionate friend—

J Leaming.—

P. S. Do not fail to make M^{rs} Leamings and my compliments acceptable to M^r Jarvis and his Lady.—

*Madison was consecrated Bishop of Virginia in London, September 19, 1790, thereby consummating the English succession of American bishops as distinguished from the Scottish through Seabury.

{ John Dryden, Absalom and Achitophel, pt. 1, line 156.

[52] New York Nov 21. 1791—

my very dear Sir,

I have now two Letters before me from you, one very long of the 28th June; which I am not able to answer. The other of the 8th Aug^t to which I shall pay particular Attention. In this you say, You expect to see America before X^{mas}, tho all pendent on the ministry and you expect to die in the west, near Nookasound. while I live, as you say, in my beloved City— In this you are mistaken. Middletown is my beloved City, above all other places in the world— I designed that for the place of my residence in the Close of Life, and made provision with that View, in a paternal Estate which fell to me there. But Gov^t, or rather old Devenport who is now gone to some other Region, thot fit to take it from me: so that all the Estate I now have is in this City, for that reason have pitched my Tent in this City. Could I have had my own choice Midⁿ would have been the place, as I have always been treated by that people with more respect and friendship than those of any other place. And next to that, should have preferred New Haven, for the same reasons.

as to your Latin, have not any tault to find in it. And meaning in English is pleasing to me. I do not know who Sir John Benedictus, Joseph Esq^r are: so cannot determine whether they are better Criticks than Ch Tene^m -Duche or Combs.

As to D^r Stearns, he should not have patched upon New England nor N York for obtaining honor to himself, for these are places in which he exhibited in former times, a Conduct, which will rinder him most contemptible. I am very sorry to find you are out of health, hope God will soon restore it. Thus prays your most sincere friend

Jeremiah Leaming

The Rev^d Doctor Samuel Peters
Pemlico
London

I.e., the British ministry.

Nootka Sound is in S.W. British Columbia near Vancouver Island.
See Papers.

Abraham Davenport (1715-1789), member of the Executive Council of Connecticut, State senator from 1766-1784, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

See letter
[24].

Dr. Samuel Stearns.
See Papers for his
quest for an honorary
M.D. degree from
Columbia College in N.Y.

rec d Jan 3^d 92
Ans d Feb 2

[54] New York June 5, 1792
I rec^d

This very day, my dear friend, your fav^r of Feb 1, 92, But am sorry to find that you are meditating a scheme to take away my Son, from these happy Regions where we enjoy the

The Rev^d D^r Samuel Peters
London.

The "son" is not identified.

happyness to Tax ourselves as much, or as little as we please, as to the great things you say of Simcopolis; if I am not much mistaken, The Jerseys will far exceed it; for they have determined to nominate me for the Bp of that State; and provided they do, and will comply with my requisitions, I will form them into a true primitive Chh—Then let Simcopolis and the Jerseys vie with each other, to see which will excel. You must not mistake me, and suppose that my vanity hath increased with my Age; and that I can do as much in advanced Life, as you who are so much younger and in the meridian of Life. No! But the materials being so much better, and earlier formed to the Truth, than those, who are under your care, will cause the affairs in the Jerseys to preponderate. This I suppose you will say, is one of my paradoxes, Or rather it is the fumes arising from the dregs of Life.

I am grieved that you are so ready to believe an ill report of the good people of this Land. You may depend upon it the report you heard is false. Come here and you will be convinced, that what you have heard is ^{have} the Americans have ever deserved. I never ^{heard} that any one among the Americans has been guilty of that Crime.

I think you ought not to change ^{your} measures for such Idle Reports; and neglect to come here, as you engaged, to see your old friend; who will feel happy to see you; notwithstanding you hold the Bps here in such contempt, and Stile them overlookers. Yet I will not overlook you, provided you will take the route to Monreal thro this City.—and I should think, if nothing else was to determine this affair, but only convenience to yourself; you would take the nearest way to Monreal: and not run round Robenwhoods barn 3000 miles farther to escape poison, where there is none, You have friends here; and you will have Enemies, go where you will: even at New Jerusalem.

You accuse the Americans for not paying their Debts. But be it so: for which I condemn them. And I blame the Britains for being guilty of a more hienous Crime: that of violating the wills of the dead. In Year 1710 the Bp of Can^y, gave £1 000 for the Support of Bps in America: the Lady Bety Hastings in the year 1735 gave £1500 for the same purpose; and several thousands besides given by pious persons; all these Donations were given for the support of a Bp or Bps in what is now called the United States. Yet this is taken contrary to the will of the Donors, and given to support a Bp in a part which belonged to France* at the time when the Donation was made. Who has had a right to alter the wills, of these persons since they were dead? If there were conditions in these wills, that in case we remained under the Gov^t of G. Britain, we should recieve the Legacy; and provided we did not, we should forfeit it: then there would be plausible pretence to withhold it. But there is no condition in these Dona^{ns}: and hence it is plain, that some Bp in these States, has a better right to the money thus given, than any man who has trusted the Americans, to demand it of them—

Is this Sacraledge? I leave you to judge as you know who receives it. I love you, as much as you do me.

Adue

J Leaming

D^r p etters

rec^d Aug 25—
Ans^d Aug 25—

I.e., Upper Canada. John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806) was first governor (1792-1794) and had hoped that SP might be the first missionary bishop appointed over that territory. See Papers.

I.e., New Jersey

groudley [groundless]; I wish you may not fall into worse hands. poising [poisoning] is not the Character which

Montreal

I.e., Robin Hood's

See letter [13].

I.e., Charles Inglis

*Nova Scotia.

[56]

New York Nov^r 15. 1792—Rev^d and dear sir,

Have rec^d your most obliging Letter dated the 25 of last Aug^t, five days ago. And am now sit down to acquaint you, that I feel the sincere friendship for you, that I ever have had. There are so many things in your Letter, that it is impossible for me to attend to them all; and say what, I must not omit on other affairs.

In the year 1711. the Society* gave orders to his Excellency Robert Hunter Esq^r then Gov^r of New York and New Jersey, to purchase a place in the Jerseys for a Bishops Seat; and he did according to the Societys request, agree with John Tatham for a house and Land, for that purpose, for which he paid £600. Sterling. For which Sum John Tatham made a Deed in fee Simple to the Society forever, dated Feb. 26. 1711. which place was purchased by the Society for a Bishops residence.

I wish you would be so kind as to examine the Societys Books for the years 1711, 1712, and 1713, in which years, I suppose you will find the Deed recorded. And in case I should be *invested* with the Charge of that Church, I should wish to know, how that Business was transacted by the Society at that time; for their measures were changed concerning a Bp for America, after George the first came to the Throne. If it can be done, pray *send* me, a Copy of that Deed: or rather bring it yourself, for altho you say nothing of coming, yet I must think you will be graced with a Mitre. And whether you are, or not, I shall love you as a good, honest man. As one that has a Soul like a Prince: Even without any of the Appendiges.

May all the Troubles we have both suffered make us prize the world of Hallaluas so much the more, for tis but a little time, before we must leave every thing here below. May we be prepared for that Hour. Thus prays your Affectionate friend and Brother

Jeremiah Leaming

*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters
Grosvenor place Pemlico
London
P Packet

rec^d June 3. 1793
Ans^d July 30—

Died in 1734.

See Edgar Legare Pennington, Apostle
of New Jersey: John Talbot: 1645-1727,
Phila., n.d., p. 52. The deed was exe-
cuted by John Tatham of New York and
Mary his wife on Oct. 29, 1712. See
p. 150 for the S.P.G. report on this
property.

[59]

New York July 6. 1794—

My ever dear sir,

Your much esteemed favour, of the 15th of April, I rec^d three days ago. As to the papers you sent me, they have not come to hand. What can be the cause, I cannot say. But I imagin, some person, who hates the Britains, has put them aside—I wish you could inform me, the time when, and the person by whom they were sent.

The Marquis of Lansdown may make what fun he pleases, in saying, *his majesty Gen^l Washington*; as long as we are happy, we shall not fear, nor feel his Sarcasms. But we have some internal troubles from those who have come here to find happiness, but will never be so, here or any where Else. The truth is, there is no sort of Government will please such kind of people.

You ask why I am not consecrated a Bp? I answer, because, I did not desire it. The Clergy in the Jersies, saw their Chhs going to Ruine, without a Bp; and upon first thought, supposed I was the only person who could prevent it: but upon more mature deliberation found out, that there was not a Clergyman in that State who was not well qualified for that Office. And yet there was not one, to whom any one

Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters
Pemlico
N 22 York Street
London

Per the Brig }
Alexander }
Via Liverpool }

Sir William Petty, 1st Mar-
quis (1737-1805). He was
Secretary of State under
William Pitt.

rec^d 20—94
Ans^d Sep. 29—

New Jersey did not acquire a
bishop until Nov. 19, 1815,
when John Croes was consecrated.
(Croes was then being considered
for third bishop of Connecticut—
successor to Abraham Jarvis, who
had died May 13, 1813.

of them, would give his vote: except for himself, which they all did, one excepted. I did not wish to be a Bp. You ask if I did not wish for ^a Bps Beanch in Heaven? I answer; If I may be so happy as to obtain the lowest Seat in Heaven; it will be more than I deserve: and can only hope to obtain it, thro the Propitiation and Intercession of my Blessed Redeemer.

You seem to insinuate, that you shall come here, and be Bp of Virmount. I do not know what your Prospects are. But to me, it appears, but little good can be done, and the greatest fatigue undergone.

The changing Scenes of this world are such at present, that there is little to be hoped for, and less to be realized. You ask if you shall find faith in America. I hope you may. however it is something Scarce here: for faith is turned out of doors. And most of the preachers have Substituted Conversion, in the room of Faith: In the Chapter of Conversion is found the whole of what belongs to Religion.

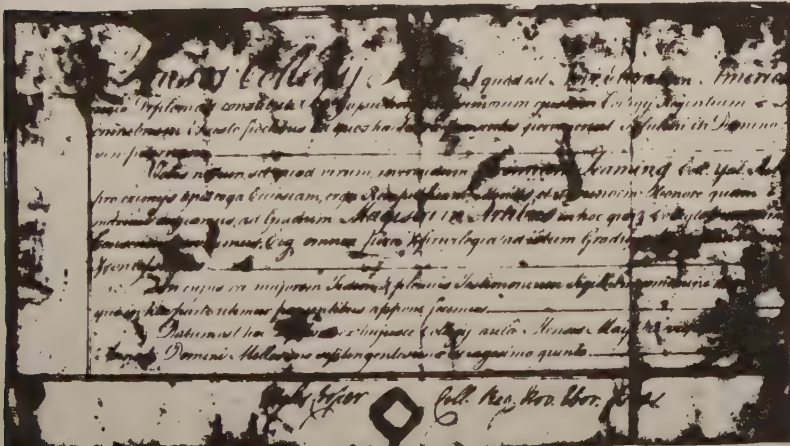
Am much pleased with your Son. I think he will do well in the world. his mind and manners are much improved and his affability will always gain him friends. As the world is at present, I cant Say but he has done well, not to take the character of a Clergymen, preaching is so much prostituted, that it is a question, whether there is not more mischief done by it, than good. What is built by one that is right, is pulled down by two who are wrong.

It is difficult for me to write, as my abilities of mind and Body fail very fast—the old age does not love to confess it. This seems strange, for why should we be unwilling to own what every one Else knows to be a fact—there is no need to tell you, how much regard for you, rests in the breast of old —

Eusebius —

Luke 14:9-10

For Leaming's implication here see his An Essay on Conversion, Rpd. at Litchfield; 1798, from the 5th edition. Also: Hartford (Elisha Babcock) 1799. Date of the original edition uncertain, no copy having survived.



DIPLOMA TESTIFYING TO THE HONORARY DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
CONFERRED IN 1765 BY KING'S COLLEGE (NOW COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY) UP-
ON THE REVEREND JEREMIAH LEAMING (1717-1804, YALE COLLEGE 1745).
THIS DOCUMENT, WHICH LED TO THE WRITING OF THE PRESENT MONOGRAPH, WAS
RECENTLY DISCOVERED AMONG PAPERS OF THE HILLHOUSE FAMILY IN THE ATTIC
OF THE HILLHOUSE MANSION, SACHEM'S WOOD, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, AND
PRESENTED BY MR. AND MRS. JAMES HILLHOUSE TO THE COLLECTION OF
MEMORABILIA IN THE GLEBE HOUSE, WOODBURY, CONNECTICUT.

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FROM THE PAINTING IN THE YALE DINING HALL AFTER THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT BY DUCHÉ, NOW IN THE OWNERSHIP OF THE DIOCESE OF CONNECTICUT AND PRESERVED AT TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

THE RIGHT REVEREND SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D.
 (1729-1796, YALE COLLEGE 1748)
 FIRST AMERICAN BISHOP.

ADDENDA TO THE PAPERS OF SAMUEL PETERS, EMPHASIZING LETTERS FROM SEABURY

The following correspondence will supplement my recent volume, The Papers of Loyalist Samuel Peters, Hartford, [1978]. In editing, I have silently improved or modernized the punctuation in a few places and capitalized the first word of independent sentences whenever the writer ignored that convention. Misspellings I have retained when meanings were obvious, occasionally employing brackets to indicate missing letters. Through the years the Diocese of Connecticut has been indebted to the Seabury family for access to its Seabury papers--first to Andrew W. Oliver, Esq., nephew (later executor) of Judge Samuel Seabury. Then came generous help from Dr. Niels H. Sonne, for many years able Librarian of the General Theological Seminary in New York City. The former permitted the Archives to have duplicate film strips of all Seabury manuscripts filmed for Yale; Dr. Sonne helped us acquire blow-ups of the Seabury papers filmed by the ATLA Board of Microtext Resources and co-operated in dozens of other ways to help Connecticut put to use the papers of its first bishop. Letters numbered 3-4, 7 and 9-12 were made available through these channels; the Pierpont Morgan Library kindly supplied number 1; number 8 (in the Rare Book Room of the Boston Public Library) is here edited through the courtesy of its trustees; the Glebe House in Woodbury, Connecticut, furnished number 13. Number 6 is included with the kind permission of the Connecticut Historical Society of Hartford. The originals of numbers 2 and 5 are in the Archives of the Diocese. For the full background of all these manuscripts, the reader is referred to The Papers of Loyalist Samuel Peters mentioned above--especially to its detailed index.

I

ABRAHAM JARVIS TO SAMUEL PETERS

Middletown March 15, 1784--

My old Friend,

If this is too familiar a way of Address after so long a Separation, and equally long Time since our Communication ceased, I will stand corrected, when I am informed that it is become unseasonable and improper. Some of my Brethren of the Clergy in Connecticut have found a place in your Remembrance, from whence I did not know but I was altogether erased until I received a Letter from my Nephew M^r William Jarvis,¹ dated London Oct^r 20th 1783, in which he informed me of the very kind Manner in which you took him by the hand and offered your Friendship to him, as he was a Relation of mine. For this I have to thank you and beg you will accept of this my Acknowledgement of it as an Obligation conferred on me. I hope my Nephew will, while he resides in London, shew himself worthy of your Notice and Friendship. He entered early into the British Service in America, and by Numbers I have been told that he recommended himself by a Conduct that was deserving and reputable. I warmly wish he may find in that Country such Friends as he may need and will be beneficial to him.

Whether we are to expect your Return to America or not I have not heard that you have mentioned in any of your Letters. You are sure of our Wishes that you may enjoy such a

Condition in the Country where you are as may make you happy, so that you may be induced by nothing that is disagreeable again to revisit a Country where there are still many that would be very glad to see you. If there is any particular Cause why you have written so few Letters to the Clergy in Connecticut and that Cause proceeds from us, I wish you would let us know it, and what it is.

We have been told that D^r Chandler² is coming out Bishop to Nova Scotia this Spring. We hope for one to come in that Capacity to the free and independent State of Connecticut. We are as yet in Suspense what will be the Event of our Application for that Purpose, tho' probably by this Time you that are on the Ground know what is the Determination. Perhaps the Bishops care as little about our Christianity as the States-Men do about our Loyalty. I will hope better things of them as long as I can--and remain what I beg you to believe me--

Your real Friend and Brother
Abraham Jarvis

Rev^d M^r Peters--

[Addressed:] Rev^d M^r Sam^l Peters / Charlotte Street / Pimlico N^o 1 / London
[SP's endorsement:] Rec^d 14 May 1784 / answerd July 2^d 1784

II

SAMUEL SEABURY TO SAMUEL PETERS

Dundee Nov^r 24, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I promised, when I took my leave of you, to write to you as soon as my business, at Aberdeen, was completed. And now it is more than a week since the event took place--viz. Sunday Nov^r 14--& this is the first letter I have written to you. Indeed I have scarce had an hour that I could command, & now write intirely in the helter skelter way, to convince you that I do not forget you & to desire that, if an opportunity presents before I get to London, you would write to our friends in Connecticut, remember me to them, & inform them of the successful issue of my northern negotiation, & that the first good Ship will carry me to America, where I hope to find them all well and happy.

In the course of a fortnight I expect to be with you. In the mean time present my Compt^s to Miss Peters,³ M^r Vardill⁴ & M^r Elphinstone,⁵ and accept the best wishes of your very affectionate hum^l Serv^t.

S. Seabury

I hope you carefully treasure up all that is said or done, that I may [have] the pleasure of your narrative & observations when I have the happiness of seeing you.

[Addressed:] The Rev^d M^r Samuel Peters / N^o 1 Charlotte Street / Pimlico / Westminster
[SP's endorsement:] M^r Elphinstone / N^o 25 Margaret Street / at M^r Subtlay's / rec^d [Nov.] 30--

III

SAMUEL SEABURY TO SAMUEL PETERS

Ship Chapman March [13]⁶ 1785

My dear Sir,

I only write to inform you that we are safe in the Downs & hope to get away in a few hours. Write to me at New London, where I hope to be in May, & inform me of every thing good & bad.

Accept, Sir, my thanks for all the instances of your kind attention, & beleive that I shall rejoice at all the instances of good fortune that shall happen to you.

Make my best regards to Miss Peters⁷ & M^r Jarvis,⁸ and receive the tenders of affection & esteem from your

very hum^l Serv^t

S. Seabury

[Addressed:] The Rev^d M^r Samuel Peters / N^o 1 Charlotte Street / Pimlico

[SP's endorsement:] Seabury, D^r / March 13th / rec^d 21

IV

RICHARD MANSFIELD TO SAMUEL PETERS

Derby May 26th 1785Rev^d Sir

The Favour of your Letter of Dec^r 12, 1784 I recieved about the beginning of the Instant May, & thank you for your kind & brotherly attention to my matters, & enforcing my petition to the Society⁹ that they would remit to me the Talbot bond.¹⁰ About the same Time I recieved a Letter from Doctor Morice¹¹ dated Jan^y 31st, informing me "that the Society are willing at present to think that there [has] been some mistake in the matter of Mess^{rs} Laights,¹² as they are Gentlemen of very good Credit, & that by the Direction of the Society he hath transcribed that Part of my Letter & transmitted it to them, & that he hopes I shall have the Justice I deserve. I have as yet heard nothing from s^d Laights in Consequence of D^r Morice[']s Letter & cannot well conceive how they will undertake to vindicate their Conduct, the Circumstances being in all particulars such as I represented in my Letters to you & the Society. D^r Morice says nothing to me in his Letter about the Talbot Bond, but your Letter encourages me to hope that my Petition hath been granted at the annual Meeting of the Society in February, & that I shall have the Satisfaction e^r long of being informed that it is so. D^r Morice enquires whether it is my Wish to remain where I am, or whether it would [be] agreeable to me to go to Nova Scotia. My answer to which in my Letter to the Society of the same Date with this is, "that the circumstances of my Age & Family & those of Nova Scotia appear to me unfavourable to my removing thither, & that I hope the Society will continue to me here, now in the Evening of my Life, their usual allowance of Salary, which with what my Parishioners can contribute may serve for a tolerable Subsistence." If the Society should withdraw my Salary, I know not how I could get a Subsistence.---- In a York News Paper more than a fortnight ago it was announced that, by a Letter from Halifax dated late in April, we are assured that the Right Rev^d D^r Samuel Seabury Bishop of Connecticut was arrived there on his Way to New London.

I have heard of no Objections made, or Clamours rais'd against it from any Quarter. He is not yet arrived that I have heard of, tho' daily expected.---- In the New Haven Paper of yesterday there is inserted what is there called an Anecdote said to be taken from a London Paper of February to this Effect, "That D^r Samuel Seabury, formerly a persecuted American Clergyman D^rD: of the University of Oxford, had applied to the Arch Bishops &c. of England for Episcopal Consecration, bringing ample Recommendations, but was denied; upon which he applied to the College of Bishops in Scotland, where the Succession hath been continued without Interruption." The circumstance of his Consecration by the Non Juring Bishops, tho' not agreeable to our Wishes, would yet I believe make no great if any Disturbance here in Case the Bishops & Society in England, our great Benefactors, approve of it, but what they will say & do to D^r Seabury, & to the Missionaries here, Time must discover.---- In a Visit to M^r Newton¹³ a few Weeks since I warn'd him of his Danger of being the first to have his Name eras'd from the Catalogue of Missionaries, he not having writ to the Society for a number of Years. He is in Mourning for his Daughter Avis, the Flower of his Children lately deceas'd. M^r Clark¹⁴ I believe designs for Nova Scotia; his Parishioners are egregiously deficient in contributing to his Support. M^r Nichols¹⁵ is at Bennington, makes a great Eclat, carries Governour Chittenden¹⁶ & every thing before him, a most celebrated Preacher. Mess^{rs} Scovill¹⁷ & Andrews¹⁸ talk about Nova Scotia, but I imagine will not remove unless the Society should strike the deadly Blow & stop our Salaries here, & in that case most of us must either remove or starve. M^r Hubbard¹⁹ is I think the only Clergyman who hath Parishioners of Abilities & publick Spirit sufficient to support him honourably. M^{rs} Leaming²⁰ has Interest enough for Mess^{rs} Leaming²¹ & Jarvis;²² & M^r Marshal²³ is recieving a large estate from his aged Aunt in New York. M^r Viets²⁴ I do not often see or hear of. He keeps much at home, perhaps is uxorious, greatly engag'd in Husbandry.

I wish, but hitherto wish in vain, to see your Face once more, but if this may not be I hope to meet you in the Regions of Bliss. Towards the close of your Letter you made me a Promise (& to be sure I shall claim the performance of such a Promise) that I shall hear from you again. I hope you will favour me with a Letter soon, inform me of your designs, whether you intend to return to any part of America or remain in England, & what the Society resolve upon with Respect to my Talbot Petition, & the Missionaries' Salaries. Any Circumstance connected with the Prosperity & Welfare of you & your Daughter;²⁵ communicated by Letter, will be read both by myself & Daughters Betsy & Sally with Attention & Pleasure & I remain

Rev^d Sir

your Affectionate Brother &
most Humble Servant
Richard Mansfield

Rev^d Samuel Peters

V

SAMUEL SEABURY TO SAMUEL PETERS

New London Dec^r 14th 1785

My dear Sir,

I have been so long in writing to you that I begin to fear you will have nearly passed a decree of reprobation against me. But I hope you will not be over rigid in marking sins of omission especially against your friends. I am here quite quiet & suffered to do as I please, because, I suppose, I only please to do right. I have no intelligence to give you, only that the Southern Clergy are applying to have the impediments removed in England that a Bishop may be consecrated for them. Dr Smith²⁶ is said to be the man.

I have sent a bundle of six pamphlets²⁷ directed to you & ordered to be left at Mr John Rivingtons²⁸ St Pauls Church Yard. One is for you; one for Mr Elphinstone with my most respectful regards. Request he would assist in getting the other four to Scotland, one to Dr Abernethy Drummond,²⁹ one to Rev^d Mess^{rs} Alex. & John Allan, Edin^r,³⁰ the other two to Bp. Skinner,³⁰ Aberdeen.

If you can get the Address & Answer of this pamphlet into one of the magazines without expence to yourself, I should be obliged to you for so doing. I should like to have the Charge there too were it practicable.

My regards attend Miss Peters; remember me also to Mr & Mrs Emerson³¹ Mrs Thompson,³² Mr & Mrs Moody³³ if the[y] are with you, & desire one or other or both to write to me. Write yourself when you feel disposed & tell me all about them & every thing else. You have paper &c: plenty in London, & it will do you good.

Your friend Trumble³⁴ you know is gone. Will you not come and see this land of liberty & poverty? I beleive your estate is not confiscated. Bro^r Jarvis promised to enquire fully into it & to let you know. I hope he has done so.

How goes on the N. Scotia Episcopacy? I hope you have changed your opinion of the great Men in the Chch. Have you not had reason to do so?

Possibly Mr Jarvis may have forgot his promise to write to you as very soon after the making of it Mrs Jarvis^{34a} was discovered to be with Child, and now looks round, plump, fresh & hearty.

Will you call at, or send to, Mr Rivingtons for the pamphlets?

Twelve have been admitted to Orders--one for Virginia,³⁵ four for Maryland³⁶ one for Pensylvania³⁷ two for New Jersey³⁸ three for this State³⁹ & one for Providence.⁴⁰

All the sober dissenting pastors have assumed the abominable Stile of Bishops, & so direct their letters to each other.

The Society have given us a heavy blow, & left us as poor as they can wish us, but we are as cheerful as beggars & as saucy too.

Something else, I am sure there is, which I want to say to you, but I cannot recollect it; so must leave it for the subject of another letter, & now take my leave by assuring you that I am, as always, your affect^e hum^l Serv^t.

Samuel Seabury

Rev^d Mr Peters

[Addressed:] The Reverend Mr Samuel Peters / N^o 1
Charlotte Street, Pimlico, / Westminster
[Endorsed:] rec^d Feb^y 28, 1786 / Answ^d April

VI

SAMUEL SEABURY TO SAMUEL PETERS

New London Nov. 7. 1788.

Rev^d & dear Sir,

Since I have been in Connecticut, I have rec[e]ived two letters from you, & have written two, this is the third, to you; & yet you complain; but I flatter myself not in serious earnestness.

I hope this will find you & all yours well. God keep you so. I send herewith a Package to go to Scotland, which I beg you to forward. It contains Copies of a Charity Sermon^{40a} preached in Boston & letters. One Copy I send for your amusement. We go on here in the hum drum way--neither quite right, nor very wrong.

The packet is directed for you to the Care of Jos. Ali-coke at the New York Coffe[e] house. He lives in S. Swithens lane, opposite Bear binder lane.

You will probably hear again from me soon, especially if I get any news to tell you. Now write me a long letter for my short one, & tell me every thing; & believe me your affect^e hum^l serv^t.

Samuel Connect.

Over--

If any expence attends this packet, please to let me know, & please to send it to Edin^h by the least expensive conveyance.

VII

SAMUEL PETERS TO SAMUEL SEABURY

Grosvenor Place

Westminster Sept 22^d 1789

Right Reverend Sir--

Although I hear not from you yet I hear much of you and of your good offices done to the House of God, and I hope you will long continue a blessing to the Church Episcopal in New England which shall never want my Prayers & best endeavours. As to Episcopacy in Newyork, Newjersies & the South I view it to be in a languid Condition and tending towards Infidelity, Lukewarmness & presbyterianism Methodized. In short, I never found many Churchmen South of Connecticut--for all the Clergy were always seeking after sensual & lofty things and not Piety & the Good of the Church.

As to the Episcopal Church in Nova Scotia I find it dwindling & pining & dying notwithstanding the Piety, learning & Generosity of its meek and humble Bishop⁴¹ whom you & Dr Chandler⁴² & Cooper⁴³ brought up & helped to trample under foot yourselves & others not transported like Cutting,⁴⁴ Barnett⁴⁵ & Barton⁴⁶ Alas! the Church & such as are under Par^{ty}⁴⁷ & the Refuse of Hibernia.^{47a} I would sooner move to Shamskatka⁴⁸ than to Botany Bay or any British Colony--the Pastures for our lean Cattle, Convicts & vagabonds from the Soils of England, Ireland & Scotland.

If you save not Episcopacy in your diocess I am sure it will die out in America--although Eleven Guns were fired at St John's Island^{48a} at the landing of Bishop Inglis to shew the vacancy made by Judas 1769 years ago was again filled. I have had the honor of three Scotch Bishops at my House several times, whose Behaviour was truly apostolic & not regal or Lordly, & was I to be a Bishop, I should Chuse to

have Consecration from them--because they taste & feel the Power of Religion. They came here to obtain a repeal of those Severe Laws made by George 1 & 2 against Jacobites & as they have Ceased to be such & are become Georgites, the House of Commons readily granted their Petition but it was negatived in the House of Lords in honor to English Episcopacy & Scotch Kirkism. It appears plain that our Lords & Bishops had rather promote protestant Dissenters than Episcopacy not depending on the English Bench of Bishops in South Britain. This was & is also the Temper of the Pope--& I am much mistaken if White⁴⁹ & Provost⁵⁰ are not in the same scheme & temper. As to Charles⁵¹ he must bark when commanded--& act as a Spy on all and inform his Masters what never existed, or, is likely to exist. I hope M^r Foot⁵² will do more good at Hebron than I ever did--or he will spend his time & Labour for Nothing.

I think the whole State of Connecticut would become Episcopal upon political Motives if you would Coalesce with D^r Styles⁵³ & some others & consent to consecrate each Moderator of their Association & Dr Styles Bishop of the University & City of N. Haven--& you remain Archbishop. I see no need of more than one Bishop with two or three Presbyters to consecrate a Moderator into a Bishop--as Paul alone consecrated Bishop Timothy & Titus. The Canons of the European Church are not divine nor more binding then Saybrook platform⁵⁴ Bellermines⁵⁵ & Crammers⁵⁶ Canons are similar to Mathers⁵⁷ & Dom. Clap's⁵⁸

Every thing will be acted against you by the Episcopal & non-Episcopals in Europe & America until you Strike some blow by a Coalition with D^r Styles & others whose Ambition & popish Stomachs will lead them to adopt any scheme that will raise their Fame. Verbum sat.⁵⁹

I have heard with Sorrow that you refused to Perform Service in M^r Lee['s']⁶⁰ Meeting House in Salisbury when he generously offered it. He is a capable & proud man & I think would bend his Conference with others to get rid of Laie Power & Tyranny. The unsanctified Meeting [house] could not have defiled you--but you might have made the Place holy & fit for Christians to have prayed in afterwards.

A very few alterations in the Prayer Book would Content most of your dissenting teachers, & if the People are are [sic] indulged with some Extemporary Prayers before & after sermons, like the Methodists, your point will be gained. We are well, & I am

R. R. Sir,
your dutiful
Sam^{ll} Peters

Bishop Seabury--

VIII

SAMUEL PETERS TO WILLIAM MONTAGUE⁶¹

Pimlico. July 11th 1791

Rev^d Sir--

This will be handed to you by M^rs Taylor a Native of Connecticut, who married M^r John Taylor, an English born Man. They are going with their two Children to live and die in dear Connecticut, where I hope they will safely arrive & be happy. M^rs Taylor will send her Baggage by Water to Newhaven or Newlondon & go in the Stage Coach with her family to Hertford. They will need no money, only your

advice & Civilities, as they are Strangers in the Land of Ham.⁶² Please therefore to give them such directions as may be necessary for them both by Land & Sea, lest they fall into a Snare amongst false Brethren. Your Letter of June 7th 1791 reached me July 6 & Capt. Scott⁶³ said he would in due time send the Casks on Shore--but you have not Charged the value of the Casks & Contents. Hence I conclude you not fit to manage Trade. You will have received my Letters by this time respecting what you have done with D^r W^m Peters.⁶⁴ Although you & your Brethren in the foederal States excel all People that on Earth do dwell in the Arts & Sciences of keeping & stealing & opening Letters, the Boorish Germans are modest Civilians to you, & I and others have resolved to leave you in your Sins. How it got into your head or Heart of tell D^r Parker⁶⁵ that I sent my Letters to him not by you but via Halifax must be imputed to your creative fancy. You might have said the Books &c went via Halifax, which you took at M^r Richardsons⁶⁶ under the Charge with which were mr. Jarvis's⁶⁷ Letters & mine and a Deed of Land in N. London; all which you promised to take care of & convey --but alas! you pretend to have lost them--after I saw them & you on Board the Ship in which you returned to that Region of Salt. You heard me read my Letters before they were Sealed. You say the History of Connecticut⁶⁸ was missing--which I saw mr. Richardson bundle & tie up with D^r Parkers Books & if you had not opened the D^rs Books those things would have been safe. You seem peculiarly calculated to live in that Country--having a Memory that can hold or let loose what is Convenient. You desired me to call on M^r Southgate⁶⁹ for M^r Marsh's Geo. Grammar.^{69a} I did so & M^r Southgate said you had long ago called & taken away said Book--yet you forgot to return Jarvis's Paper of Kings &c &c. A Bad Memory is worse than ingratitude, and your having lost my Letters & Deed induces me to place you among the Careless and those who cannot be trusted with Life or Property. Nevertheless--I have trusted you with the Care of D^r W^m Peters, and I am not uneasy to find him at Dartmouth College. Of this I have wrote sufficiently. I have wrote one year ago to Andrew Peters⁷⁰ to have him draw on me for £30 S^t after 30 Days Light. Likewise to his Brother John⁷¹ to do the Same--of which I told their Mother.⁷² I have not broken yet with Col^l Turner⁷³ who is here--but I hear D^r Walter⁷⁴ holds Christ's Church in Commendam with Cambridge & you as his temporary Curate. Pluralities are good since saints like it well.⁷⁵ You told me in one Letter that you had sent or was sending things to M^rs Ann Peters⁷⁶ which justified you in drawing on me for £39--& now you say you have not sent them because they were Contraband. Alas! that foo[d] should be Contraband at Cape Breton,⁷⁷ where frost Genders & Rocks reign. M^r Lyde⁷⁸ called for 8 Guineas he lent you. Hunt⁷⁹ is in the Country--& lately has got your Cards out. He has given me no Money & said he was sorry he was Concerned in that vexatious Business. What you send to M^rs Ann Peters or have sent she will give you a Bill for on me. The £69 I have advanced you must be kept for D^r W^m Peters. M^rs Child⁸⁰ will be Easy when you order to be paid; so will M^r Lyde. I am afraid you will see D^r Price⁸¹ unless you repent & restore my Deed & Letters-- Salt is Good if it hath not lost its Savour

I am angry--adieu--
Sam^{ll} Peters

Rev^d M^r Montague

[Addressed:] The Rev^d William Montague / of Christ's
Church / Boston / New England / favor of M^rs Taylor

IX
BENJAMIN MOORE TO SAMUEL PETERS

New York, Aug^t 31, 1792--

Rev^d Sir

A few days ago, I received a Letter from you relative to a Bill of Exchange drawn by D^r Pomeroy.⁸² The Letter puzzled me exceedingly for some hours, as I never had any transactions with the Doctor in money Matters. But upon inquiring I found that the Person concerned is a Cousin of mine & my name-sake, who lives at Thinderhook in this State. The contents of your Letter have been transmitted to him, & I suppose he will take [ca]re to have all mistakes properly rectified.

I have often heard my Brother-in-Law T. Moore⁸³ mention your name with great respect. He was well when I last heard from Hempstead. The Doctors Leaming,⁸⁴ Beach,⁸⁵ & Johnson⁸⁶ are well. D^r Leaming particularly seems to have renewed his age. He has perfectly recovered his voice & talks of visiting once more the Church of Stratford in order to make peace in the Congregation, which has been in confusion for some time past, & which is now forsaken by M^r Sayre⁸⁷ the late Incumbent. If there be any of my old friends, American Loyalists, in your neighbourhood, be pleas'd to remember me to them. I am, Sir,

Your Ob^t Friend & B^r
B. Moore

[Addressed:] Rev^d D^r Samuel Peters / N^o 5 Queen's Row,
Pimlico, / Buckingham Gate / Westminster
[Endorsed:] rec^d Oct. 20

X
SAMUEL PETERS TO WILLIAM ABERNETHY DRUMMOND,
BISHOP OF EDINBURGH

Pimlico. July 2^d 1793

Right Reverend Sir,

I take Liberty to write & introduce to you M^r [William Samuel] Johnson from Connecticut, a son of the learned D^r Johnson President of Columbia College in New York, promoted to that Station from the Senate of Congress & one of the highest Law departments in the State of Connecticut on account of his Literary Merits. The young Gentleman has lately returned from Rome & the Tour of France where he had the mortification of seeing Lewis 16th murdered--and now wishes to pay attention to the antient Kingdom of Scotland. Your General Knowledge & friendly advice will not fail being of peculiar service to the young Gentleman, & I humbly entreat your Civilities & Benedictions to the young Stranger--who will be able to give you proper Informations about Bishop Seabury, the first Luminary in the American Episcopal Church, & deliver in Person to that Prelate any Communications you judge proper to Confide to his care.

The Methodists have broke in upon the Church at New-york under the inspection of Bishop Provost while Bishop Seabury is admired & followed by them. D^r Leaming informed me that he is elected Bishop of Newjersey-State. Bp. Seabury says the church increases under a violent opposition from the Calvinian Dissenters of various Denominations. Bishop Seabury preached a Sermon at Portsmouth⁸⁸ in the State of Newhampshire at an ordination which gave great offence to the Enimies of Episcopacy, which has been reviewed in the European Magazine for last February with Justice & Candour. This was the occasion of sundry Pamphlets. D^r Seabury has before this day silenced his antagonists. M^r Pitt⁸⁹ has concluded, as I hear, to send a Bishop to Lower Canada. Quebec is its Capital. M^r Moun-
tain⁹⁰ of Lincolnshire is said to be the intended Bishop. It is not known whether one will be sent to upper Canada, which is 900 miles South west from Quebec. This appointment was fixed two years ago on me--but as I have not had £800 per annum to give up as a Patronage to M^r Pitt, I expect procrastination will continue to be the sign of orthodoxy.

The Signs of the Times give but small hopes of prosperity to the Church & spreading of the Gospel in foreign Parts, yet I hope Liberty & Christian Doctrines may prevail in Great Britain where legal Severity has taken place under Whigs that was never known under Tories since the days of Archbishop Laud.

I wish Health & Success to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, where virtue, meekness & Charity reign over lordly & wealthy Prelacy. My Civilities, my duty, & veneration are offered in Great humility to you & the Right Reverend Bench of the Episcopal College of Scotland.

With every Sentiment of Respect I am
Right Rev^d Sir,
your Most obedient and
most humble Servant
Samuel Peters

XI
SAMUEL PARKER TO SAMUEL PETERS

Boston Jan^{ry} 9 1794

Rev^d Sir

I wrote to you by Cap^t Scott^{90a} in Novem^r last & gave you my Opinion at large respecting the probability of success in an Application to the Legislature of this State for the repayment of Monies arising from the Confiscation of D^r Moffats Estate,⁹¹ provided M^r Wendell⁹² sh^d suffer his name to be used in such Application, but that he had refused to lend his name for this purpose. M^r Wendell being gone a long journey at that time, it was not in my power to send his refusal under his hand, but since his return I have applied to him & he has signified that he can by no means comply with M^r George Ervings request in this matter & I now enclose you his Answer in his own hand Writing.

I before informed you that an Application for this purpose in any other name but that of M^r Wendells would be absolutely ineffectual & nugatory.

I know not in what Predicament this will put you respecting your Suit in Chancery or whether you have any Remedy agst M^r Ervings Executors. The Agreement & Bond D^r Peters⁹³ will return to you--

I am your friend & Brother
S Parker

Rev^d Dr Peters

[Addressed:] Rev^d Samuel Peters DD
[Endorsed:] rec^d Ap. 19-- / postage 2/0

XII
SAMUEL SEABURY TO SAMUEL PETERS

New London Oct^r 10th 1794

Rev & dear Sir

Your letter of the 2d of July I received a week ago. On the subject of your being elected to be Bp of Vermont, I have written to the Rev^d M^r J. C. Ogden⁹⁴ in that State, from whom I recieved the notification of your election. How they came to omit to send you the necessary documents of your election, I cannot conceive.

That they want a Bp in Vermont, at least somebody to take more effectual care of the affairs & rights of the Ch^h, is certain. Their convention once passed a decree to put themselves under the Bp of Connecticut. This I heard by private information, but never a word from the Convention. Sometime after they elected D^r Bass⁹⁵ of Newbury Port for their Bp. Of this they informed him. He wrote to them, & made some stipulations about perpetual residence. His letter they never answered; but at their next Convention proceeded to elect your Reverence; of which they have given you no notice. Who they will elect next I know not; but suspect all is not right.

I wish you was there, & if the Abp. of Cant. makes any objection to your Consecration, I see not any impediment to your being Consecrated at our next Gen^l Convⁿ at Philad^a in Septe^r next; provided you have the necessary documents from Vermont.

Rejoiced should I be that you could eat your Christmas dinner with me; & preach a Christmass Sermon for me.

This will be carried by M^r R. R. Saltonstall⁹⁶ whom you once saw in London. I have desired him to put it into the first Post Office in Great Britain that he can.

Wishing you health &c: & hoping to see you settled in Vermont, I remain your

affect^t hum serv

S. Bp. of Connect. & Rho. Isl.

[Addressed:] The Rev^d D^r S. Peters, / N^o 22 York Street / Westminster / Favoured by / M^r R. R. Saltonstall
[Endorsed:] rec^d Dec^r 12. 94 / Ans^d 20 Sept^r 95

XIII
ABRAHAM JARVIS TO SAMUEL PETERS

Middletown April 4. 1796--

Rev^d & dear Sir--

Your last favour of Oct^r 1st 1795 I have had by me for a considerable time. I could without loss of time have given you my Sentiments of the Cannon refered to in your letter as it may respect you. I thought it might render what I should say the more satisfactory if I took the opinion of others. I accordingly wrote to Bishop Seabury and wished his Sentiments that my answer to you might contain his, and what

you might understand to be the general Sentiments of the clergy in connecticut. But alas! on the same week I wrote, he ended all his mortal cares and and painful labours. On thursday evening February twenty fifth he suddenly expired. To all appearance perfectly well, he walked with his Daughter Maria to M^r Roswel Saltonstall's, when there complained of an extreme pain in his stomach or breast, and expired with[in] forty minutes after he entered the house. By his death we have suffered a loss to our church perhaps irreparable. He was justly considered as a man of singular abilities, universally admired in the pulpit. His method of delivery was grave and commanding; his discourses, by the best Judges, were esteemed uncommonly solid, clear, and instructing. As a Bishop he conducted with great prudence, filled his office with dignity, and lived in perfect harmony with the clergy. Such qualities and behaviour failed not closely to attach the clergy to him, and to secure the reverence and Affection of the church at large throughout his diocese. What effect his death will have upon our church, what will be done, time must reveal. Bishop Seabury was a man who thought and spoke for himself; what he spoke he thought. You may be sure when he said he knew of no obstacle to your being consecrated in America, he fully believed there was none. By being "personally known" I conceive the cannon means "such full information of the character and reputation of the person as enables those who subscribe the Testimonial to do it with integrity & confidence that he is qualified and fit for the office for which he is recommended." Residence is not mentioned, therefore not required as a condition. Your continued communications & correspondence with your friends and Brethren in these parts will not admit the words "for the three Years last past" to be made use of against you. To a number of the Clergy and more of the Laity still living you are personally known in the most comprehensive sense [in which] the word is ordinarily used. As a native and citizen you hold property in this State and may, when ever you please, return and occupy it. You cannot therefore be considered as a foreigner.

M^r Jay⁹⁷ must have formed his opinion of the cannons and general convention from some Reporter, not from his own reading. This, I think, any one may see who will read what, I ever thought, is absurdly called the constitution of the protestant episcopal Church &c. In that instrument the church is considered by States. No State can be represented nor have a voice in the general convention without having acceded to and subscribed that instrument. Actual subscription then limits the convention and determines how far it is general; it also determins what Churches are bound by the cannons. I know not that the Bishops are laid under any restraint in respect of their consecrating a Bishop for a State not in the union. They being at liberty to act discretionary in that case, all that they could be obliged to, or could properly require, would be that the Testimonials should be in manner and form as prescribed by the cannon.

What you relate of Bishop Provost⁹⁸ and D^r Beach I heard something of the last June at New York from D^r Leaming; I mentioned it to D^r Beach; he said he knew of no such cannon (none, I suppose, that would admit of such a sense or that was so worded). He then assured me that he had never written a Syllable to the Archbishop

of Canturbury upon any such Business and did not believe Bishop Provost had; and further that he had never conversed with the Bishop about you. I only replied that something of that tenor must have appeared there from somebody, or you would not have written in that manner, and expressed my surprise. At that time I enquired of your Son Birdsey⁹⁹ who told me he did not think a Letter would find you in London. As he supposed, if you was not on your passage to America then you would be soon.

What you speak of as having passed at Lambeth I am to suppose was not hearsay. But I observe you to name D^r Jewit¹⁰⁰ for your author as to many things you say of D^r Beach. That Gentleman left America with a mind very unfriendly to D^r Beach. How far personal resentments may have carried him and what allowances are to be made in respect of what is said under those circumstances I leave with you to judge.

I take leave to observe that in the latter part of your letter there are some expressions for the meaning of which, considered as yours, I am at a loss; viz. "episcopacy in new-england against the hierarchy in the south." By the former do you mean the nonsense of presbyterian episcopacy in opposition to the true episcopal hierarchy? Not why the distinction between episcopacy and hierarchy? Do you not know that the convention at Philadelphia in 1789 declared unequivocally their belief of the validity of the connecticut episcopate and formed the union of the eastern and southern Church upon one episcopate? Episcopacy is an hierarchy. You mention D^r Styles. Has he since he made his exit from hence made you a visit and converted you to the faith of episcopacy within an hierarchy? Even Styles, if he is suffered to converse with the renowned Fathers of the church, I trust, e'er this, knows better. As little to my understanding do you speak in saying--"when you adopt an hierarchy farewell episcopacy and welcome to Monarchy and popery the twin Sisters &c." What could D^r Styles have said more? Whither are you got? Into what are you transformed? A sour republican and presbyterian? Monarchy and popery are not twin Sisters, nor yet twin Brothers, for the one is certainly much older than the other. Let popery be a bantling of Pandora's Box. Yet I cannot think the King of Salem and priest of the most high God was ever in such a Box. While I remember so ancient a monument of monarchy and priesthood and consider that his antitype, the captain of our Salvation, is also a Monarch and high priest, and that he acknowledg'd the authority of both Pilate and Caesar to be from heaven, I cannot feel myself disposed to think so hatefully or speak so reproachfully of either of those dignities lest I should rail against God.

If you covet no acquaintance with an hierarchy, why have you ever thought of being a Bishop? There are those among us who think you have not had the generous Treatment they wish you to have met with, but you will allow me to say I am sorry to find that disappointment and your Ideas of male-treatment should cloud your mind with so dark and violent a resentment as to cause a language to fall from your pen which may be grateful to dissenters and infidels but to the real friends of episcopacy and the church can give no pleasure.

I thank D^r Mosely¹⁰¹ for his friendly remembrance of me and beg you to give him my compliments and hearty good wishes. M^{rs} Jarvis¹⁰² requests your acceptance of her most friendly compliments and wishes to see you once more

at our little old parsonage in Middletown. Whether we shall ever enjoy that pleasure God knoweth. However you may determin and God may order, the same friendly Sentiments and benevolent wishes I have ever entertained towards you will abide with me. In confidence that you will not doubt this I trust you will continue to believe me, tho' unavailing, your real friend and Brother

Abraham Jarvis

[Addressed:] The Rev^d D^r Samuel Peters / N^o 53 West-smithfield / London

[Endorsed:] rec^d June 4 / Ansd June 10th / ditto [June] 12

1 Capt. (later Colonel) William Jarvis, who lived under SP's roof in London and eventually married Hannah Peters, SP's daughter. Capt. Jarvis had a brother named Munson.

2 Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

3 Hannah Deloena (or Delavan) Peters, SP's daughter by his first wife, Hannah Owen. See note 1.

4 The Rev. John Vardill, a Loyalist who had once taught at King's College in New York.

5 James Elphinstone, Esq., who for a time lived at 25 Margate Street, Cavendish Square, London. Occasionally he supplied a character reference for SP.

6 I insert this date from SP's endorsement on the letter. Other farewell letters by Bishop Seabury were written at the Downs on March 15, 1785.

7 See note 3.

8 See note 1.

9 In 1785, the address of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was Hatton Garden, London.

10 A bond probably given by St. George Talbot, of Danbury, whose benefactions to parishes in Connecticut were numerous--especially in Danbury, Stamford and Fairfield.

11 The Rev. Dr. William Morice, Secretary of the S.P.G. beginning in 1778.

12 Edward and William Laight, New York merchants.

13 The Rev. Christopher Newton, S.P.G. missionary at Ripton (Huntington), North Stratford and Stratfield (Bridgeport) from 1755. Newton died on Feb. 6, 1787.

14 The Rev. Richard Clarke, missionary at New Haven and West Haven in 1766; at New Milford, 1767-1786, helping at Woodbury, Kent and New Preston; at Gagetown, N.B., 1786-1811; at St. Stephen, N.B., 1811-1824. There he died Oct. 6, 1824, aged 87.

15 The Rev. James Nichols, born in Waterbury in 1748, was settled at Goshen, Northbury and New Cambridge (now Plymouth and Bristol), 1774-1778; rector of St. Michael's, Litchfield, 1780-1784; rector of St. James's, Arlington, Vt., 1786-1788. Suspended from the ministry, Sept. 2, 1819. Died at Stafford, N.Y., June 17, 1829, aged 80.

16 Gov. Thomas Chittenden.

17 The Rev. James Scovil, born in Waterbury in 1732/3; settled there, 1759-1783; at Northbury (now Plymouth), 1759-1764; at New Cambridge (now Bristol), 1759-1764; at Watertown, 1764-1783; at New Brunswick, 1783-1808. Died at Kingston, Dec. 19, 1808, aged 76.

18 The Rev. Samuel Andrews, missionary at Wallingford, Cheshire, Meriden and North Haven, 1762-1786; at St. Andrew's, Charlotte County, N.B., 1786-1818. Died Sept. 26, 1818.

19 The Rev. Dr. Bela Hubbard, missionary at Guilford

- and Killingworth, 1764-1767; at Trinity Church, New Haven, 1767-1791. Died at New Haven, Dec. 6, 1812.
- 20 The Rev. Jeremiah Leaming's second wife was Elizabeth Peck of New York, whom he married in 1755. She was the aunt of Hannah (Peck) Farmar, the wife of Bp. Abraham Jarvis. When she died she left her husband a life interest in her great estate, which, at the time of his death, reverted to the Bishop's family.
- 21 Jeremiah Leaming settled at Trinity Church, Newport, R.I., as assistant minister, 1747-1750; as rector, 1750-1754; at Norwalk, 1758-1776; at Stratford, 1784-1790. Died in New Haven, Sept. 15, 1804, aged 88.
- 22 The Rev. Abraham Jarvis, later second bishop of Connecticut.
- 23 The Rev. John Rutgers Marshall, rector of St. Paul's, Woodbury, 1771-1789. He died there, Jan. 7 or 21, 1789.
- 24 The Rev. Roger Viets, S.P.G. missionary at Simsbury, 1763-1786; at Digby, N.S., 1786-1811. Died at Digby, Aug. 11, 1811, aged 74.
- 25 See note 3.
- 26 The Rev. Dr. William Smith (1728-1793), of Maryland and Pennsylvania--to be distinguished from his nephew by the same name and title (1754-1821), of Newport and Norwalk. For an account of the former, see William D. Andrews, "William Smith and the Rising Glory of America," Early American Literature, VIII, no. 1 (Spring, 1973), pp. 33-43.
- 27 The Address of the Episcopal Clergy of Connecticut, to the Right Reverend Bishop Seabury, with the Bishop's Answer. And, a Sermon before the Convention at Middletown, August 3d, 1785.... Also Bishop Seabury's first Charge, to the Clergy of his Diocese, Delivered at Middletown, August 4th, 1785. With a List of the Succession of Scot's Bishops, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Present Time, New-Haven (Ptd. by Thomas and Samuel Green), [1785].
- 28 John Rivington was a London merchant with a branch office in New York captained by his brother James.
- 29 The Rt. Rev. William Abernethy Drummond, of Hawthornden, Bishop of Edinburgh.
- 30 The Rt. Rev. John Skinner, Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese of Aberdeen.
- 31 SP occasionally visited an Emerson family living on Oxford Street in London. He also knew a John Emerson, who had earlier left England for the United States.
- 32 Possibly Dorothy (Mrs. James) Thompson, occasionally mentioned in the Peters correspondence.
- 33 Probably Captain and Mrs. Moody, of Sissiboo, N.S. His ship sailed regularly between London and American ports.
- 34 Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, whom SP disliked for aiding the mobs which drove him out of Hebron and forced him to seek refuge in England. Trumbull died in Lebanon, Conn., Aug. 17, 1785.
- 34a Ann (Farmar) Jarvis, wife of Abraham Jarvis (see note 22), bore him a son named "Samuel Farmar Jarvis," who lived only a few weeks. A second son--also named Samuel Farmar Jarvis--was born at Middletown, Jan. 20, 1786, and became the eminent scholar and historian.
- 35 John Lowe, of Fredericksburg, Va.
- 36 Colin Ferguson, Samuel Armor, Hatch Dent and William Duke.
- 37 Joseph Pilmore.
- 38 Samuel Spraggs, of Mt. Holly, N.J., and Samuel Roe, of Burlington.
- 39 Henry Van Dyke, Ashbel Baldwin and Philo Shelton.
- 40 Thomas Fitch Oliver.
- 40a This was Seabury's A Sermon delivered before the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society, in Trinity Church; at their Anniversary Meeting on Easter Tuesday March 25, 1788, Boston, 1788. It is included in Samuel Seabury's Ungathered Imprints, ed. K. W. Cameron, Hartford, [1978], pp. 55-65.
- 41 The Rt. Rev. Charles Inglis, first bishop of Nova Scotia.
- 42 See note 2.
- 43 The Rev. Myles Cooper (1735-1785), who assisted Dr. Samuel Johnson in the administration of King's College (now Columbia University) in New York.
- 44 Possibly the Rev. Leonard Cutting, of Hempstead, L.I.
- 45 Possibly the Rev. Thomas Barnett (b. 1662), who was ejected from his living by the Congregationalists for non-conformity. He settled at New London, 1685-1686.
- 46 Possibly the Rev. Thomas Barton (1730-1780).
- 47 A pun on the name of Col. John Parr, governor of Nova Scotia, who led disaffected people, especially the Irish, into Roman Catholicism. He founded a "Romish chapel" in Halifax.
- 47a Reference to the Irish invasion of Nova Scotia and to Bishop Inglis's Irish background.
- 48 Probably Kamchatka, the 750-mile-long peninsula in eastern Siberia, Russia.
- 48a St. John's Island, Nova Scotia, is now known as Prince Edward Island.
- 49 The Rev. Dr. William White, who became first bishop of Pennsylvania at Lambeth Palace on Feb. 4, 1787.
- 50 Samuel Provoost was consecrated first bishop of New York on Feb. 4, 1787.
- 51 See notes 41 and 47.
- 52 The Rev. David Foote, of Colchester, Conn., for a time in charge of St. Peter's Church, Hebron.
- 53 The Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles (1727-1795), famous president of Yale University and the "Pope" of Congregationalists.
- 54 The Saybrook Platform, drawn up in 1708 at Saybrook, Conn., was the declaration of principles governing Connecticut Congregationalism for the following 76 years.
- 55 Robert Bellarmine, Italian prelate and Jesuit, is known for his theological disputations--notably with James I of England and William Barclay of Aberdeen.
- 56 Bp. Thomas Cranmer.
- 57 Either Dr. Cotton Mather (1662/3-1727/8) or Dr. Increase Mather (1639-1723).
- 58 Possibly President Thomas Clapp (1703-1767) of Yale University.
- 59 Verbum sat sapienti--A word is enough for a wise man.
- 60 The Rev. Jonathan Lee was a Congregationalist clergyman at Salisbury, Conn., from 1744 until his death on Oct. 8, 1788. Because Bp. Seabury did not wish to encourage the preaching of Protestant clergymen in Anglican pulpits, he refused to make use of their meeting houses, even if it might have been convenient to accept such invitations when Anglican congregations were small and without a church building of their own.

61 This is SP's reply to Montague's letter of June 7, 1791, summarized in The Papers, p. 85.

62 Reference to the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt.

63 Captain Scott was the dependable commander of a commercial vessel plying between Boston and London by way of Nova Scotia. He is also mentioned in Letter XI.

64 SP's grand-nephew, son of SP's nephew, Col. John Peters, a Loyalist of Nova Scotia, who is not to be confused with the Col. John Peters, SP's brother, who remained a Yankee patriot. From birth his son bore the unusual name of "Dr. William Barnett Peters."

65 The Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and later the second bishop of Massachusetts.

66 Mr. Richardson, who owned a London bookstore, is mentioned in The Papers on p. 88.

67 See note 1.

68 This was SP's anonymously issued General History of Connecticut, London, 1781.

69 For Dr. Southgate, see The Papers, p. 88.

69a A popular work with this title (Geographical Grammar) was issued in more than twenty editions during the 17th century. The author was Patrick Gordon. Was "Marsh" a reviser or editor of one of the late editions?

70 Andrew Peters was the second son of Col. John Peters of Nova Scotia, SP's nephew. For Andrew's brother, see note 64.

71 John Peters, another son of Col. John Peters of Nova Scotia.

72 See note 75.

73 Colonel Turner is mentioned in The Papers, p. 85. He carried one of William Montague's letters from Boston to SP in London.

74 The Rev. Dr. William Walter is much discussed in The Papers. For a time he officiated at Christ Church, Boston, and at Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass.

75 Psalm 52:10 in the Prayer Book version.

76 Ann Barnett Peters, wife of Col. John Peters, Loyalist of Nova Scotia and SP's nephew. For three of her children, see notes 64, 70 and 71.

77 Cape Breton Island, the western portion of Nova Scotia, to which many American Loyalists rushed for land grants.

78 George Lyde is mentioned as a creditor in The Papers, pp. 17, 79, 109-110.

79 Mr. Hunt, of London, who helped market cards for the Rev. William Montague, is mentioned in The Papers on pp. 79, 85, 89, 111.

80 Montague's debt to Mrs. Child is mentioned in The Papers, p. 109.

81 Despite his being a clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Richard Price was hanged in Britain for forgery. SP suggests that Montague may be inviting a similar fate.

82 Dr. Ralph Pomeroy, of Hebron, was an attorney mentioned frequently in The Papers.

83 The Rev. Thomas Lambert Moore, rector of St. George's Church, Hempstead, L.I., between 1782 and 1799. He was one of the last American clergymen to be ordained in England following the Revolution.

84 See note 20.

85 The Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach was assistant at Trinity Church, New York City, from 1784 until 1813.

86 Perhaps Dr. William Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, for a time president of Columbia College, New York. See Letter X.

87 The intransigence of the Rev. James Sayre at Stratford between 1790 and 1792 is described in my Church of England in Pre-Revolutionary Connecticut.

88 A Discourse, Delivered in St. John's Church, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at the Conferring the Order of Priesthood on the Rev. Robert Fowle, A.M. of Holderness. On the Festival of St. Peter [June 29], 1791, Boston, 1791.

89 Prime Minister William Pitt (1759-1806), called "the younger."

90 Rev. Dr. Jacob Mountain, first bishop of Quebec or Canada--much discussed in The Papers.

90a See note 63.

91 Dr. Thomas Moffat, who lived with SP in Pimlico, London, left an estate in Hebron and New London. Some of his property was confiscated by the Americans. SP published a funeral sermon at the time of his death. For more details, see The Papers.

92 Oliver Wendell, a member of the Executive Council of Massachusetts, was a timid man who did not wish his name to appear on SP's applications to the legislatures of Massachusetts, Rhode Island or Connecticut regarding compensation for Dr. Thomas Moffat's confiscated property in those states. See The Papers, p. 100.

93 See note 64.

94 John Cosins Ogden, one of SP's frequent correspondents.

95 Rev. Dr. Edward Bass, later first bishop of Massachusetts.

96 For much about Richard Rosewell Saltsonstall of New London, see the index of The Papers.

97 John Jay, American jurist and statesman, who had frequent missions to London.

98 See note 50.

99 William Birdseye Peters ("Bird") was SP's son by his third wife, Mary Birdseye, of Stratford. He appears throughout The Papers.

100 For the Rev. Dr. Cavalier Jouet's reporting New York gossip to SP, see The Papers, pp. 110-111, 120, 124.

101 Dr. Isaac Moseley, of London.

102 See note 34a.



WILLIAM PETERS

